Duquesne University

A STUDY OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH POEM KNOWN AS THE SOUTHERN PASSION

A Dissertation

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Legendary to a Dominican must appear little short of ungrateful.

I gladly take this opportunity to express to the authorities of Magdalene College, Cambridge, my appreciation of their courtesy in permitting the reproduction of the required folios of MS. 2344 in the Pepysian Library. In the course of my investigations I have made use of various libraries at home and abroad. It is a pleasure to record my sincere appreciation of facilities offered by the Libraries of Bryn Mawr College, the University of Pennsylvania, and Stanford University, as well as by the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

To Professor Howard Rollin Patch, under whose direction my dissertation was completed, I am under obligations for helpful criticism. To my husband, Carleton Brown, I am indebted not only for numerous references, but for unfailing encouragement and counsel.[1]

B. D. B.

OXFORD, *September*, 1925.

[1] The present study, together with the text of the *Southern Passion*, to which it serves as Introduction, is in process of publication by the Early English Text Society.

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THE SOUTHERN PASSION

CHAPTER I

THE *SOUTHERN PASSION* IN ITS RELATION TO THE *SOUTH ENGLISH LEGENDARY*

THE term 'Southern Passion'[1] designates the narrative poem dealing with the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension which is incorporated in numerous manuscripts of the *South English Legendary*.[2] The poem in its complete form comprises

[1] By this title the poem is conveniently distinguished from the analogous poem in Northern dialect, the *Northern Passion* (edited for the E.E.T.S. as vol. 145, by Dr. F. A. Foster). *Southern Passion* is the term used by Carleton Brown in his *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, Oxford, 1916. I have used the term, at some sacrifice of accuracy, as including the material that is usually found in the MSS. as a continuous poem; viz. the events from the anointing at Bethany to the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The fact that the name *Southern Passion* has become associated with part of the metrical narrative makes it virtually impossible to substitute a more inclusive term (even if one adequately comprehending the material could be found) without causing confusion.

[2] This term is generally accepted as covering, like the analogous title *Legenda Aurea*, both the Saints' Lives and the pieces dealing with the Life of Christ. It is thus applied in Wells' *Manual* and in the *Register*. Horstmann introduced an element of possible confusion by giving, in his edition of the *South English Legendary* for the E.E.T.S., the alternative title, *Lives of Saints*. It is usual to employ the term as an inclusive one, parallel with *Northern Homily Collection*. Horstmann was the first to assemble and describe texts of the *S. E. L.* on any considerable scale. The text of MS. Harley 2277 seems to have been the one most generally known to scholars of the middle decades of the nineteenth century, although Black discussed also Ashmole MS. 43 and one or two fragments. The great service rendered by Horstmann was, to cite his own modest statement of his purpose, 'to produce the MSS. themselves, and to register the textual tradition, so preparing the way for further investigation' (*E. E. T. S.*, vol. 87, p. vii). In the introduction to his *Altenglische Legenden* (Paderborn, 1875), he described and listed the contents of eleven MSS. of the *S. E. L.*; in the Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881) he discussed four others in

some 2,550 lines; there are various abridgements. It customarily appears in the *Legendary* as a unit, with points of division indicated by appropriate rubrications, as 'Passio', 'Resurrectio', &c. In one MS. of the collection the Ascension-Pentecost portion of the poem is separated by several items from the Passion-Resurrection.[3]

The *Southern Passion* is to be distinguished from a kindred piece, the *Life of Christ*, which stands in a few MSS. of the *Legendary*. This poem, which occurs in a longer and shorter version,[4] is closely related to the *Passion*. Another related item is the *Pascha* or set of verses explaining the feast of Easter. This piece, which occurs independently in several manuscripts of the *Legendary* as one of a series of festal verses,[5] is also found incorporated in all texts of the *Passion*. These relationships are of special importance in their bearing on the problem of the structural evolution of the *South English Legendary*. Inasmuch, however, as they could not be profitably discussed until texts of the *Life* and other pieces [6] are accessible

detail, and noted several incomplete and fragmentary texts. The introduction to the edition of the *S. E. L.* for the E.E.T.S. adds little to the information given in the 'Neue Folge', but conveniently lists the contents of several MSS. in parallel columns. Complete lists of contents of all MSS. of the *S.E.L.* known at the present time, including a number not known to Horstmann, are recorded in Carleton Brown's *Register*. The most recent general discussions of the *South English Legendary* are those by Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, Yale Univ. Press, 1916, pp. 292–301, and Gerould, *Saints' Legends*, Boston and New York, 1916, pp. 151–64.

[3] MS. Bodley 779; cf. *E. E. T. S.* 87, pp. xxii–xxiii.

[4] The longer version occurs in MS. Laud 108 (a fragment, ed. Horstmann, under the title *Leben Jesu*, Münster, 1873), and in St. John's College Camb. B. 6. (This is incorrectly noted in the *Register*, ii, No. 1625, as a text of the 'Short Life'.) Of the shorter version, an incomplete text (through the Crucifixion) stands in MS. Egerton 1993, and a full text in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 25. In the latter case the *Life* is broken into two parts, the Passion-Resurrection portion standing as a separate item (incorrectly described in the *Register* as a text of the *Southern Passion*). For further texts, of which none include a *Passion*, cf. *Register*, ii, No. 1625.

[5] Cf. *Register*, ii, No. 2173; still unprinted.

[6] The problem is further complicated by correspondences between the *Life* in both versions and the 'Christmas-poem' which stands in various MSS. An additional factor is the parallel, in part verbally exact, between

in print, the matter has not received attention in the present study.

No reason appears for doubting that the *Southern Passion* was originally written to fill a place in the *Legendary*. All extant texts of the poem (with the exception of a late variant) are preserved in manuscripts of this collection; and, although not invariably included, the *Passion* occurs in several early manuscripts, among them MS. Harley 2277, the earliest text of the *Legendary* which presents normal arrangement. In style and vocabulary, further, the *Passion* resembles the *Legends* so closely as to suggest that it was the work of the same hand. The following list of parallels, although far from exhaustive, will serve as illustration of common tendencies of expression :— [7]

And toward his deþ as he wel wuste þo rod (*S. P.* v. 66).
Toward is deþe forthþ he wende (*Edward King*, v. 58).

Now luþer þrift vpon his heued (*S. P.* v. 785; cf. also v. 1295).
Nouþe luþer þrift on al is hond (*Michael*, v. 366).

Þe ne tyd no part in heuene habbe (*S. P.* v. 888).
Þe ne tit of him no part (*James the Greater*, v. 376).

To pilatus wif he com aniȝt as hit were in metynge (*S. P.* v. 1269).
To þe Abbod Marcel he cam anyȝht in metyngue ase it were (*John Baptist*, v. 114).

And hare bone is yhurd ffol wel (*S. P.* v. 1383).
His bone was fole wel i-heord (*Oswald*, v. 29).

ffor hi beoþ yharled her and þer (*S. P.* v. 1385).
For heo is i-harled here and þere (*Francis*, v. 248).

the legend of Judas and lines in the *Passion* which are common to the *Long Life*. The 'Temporale' (or collection of pieces within the *Legendary* connected with the life of Christ, as opposed to the 'Sanctorale' or Saints' Lives) presents, then, a highly involved problem of structural development, which cannot even be clearly defined until many more texts are available for comparison. It may be said, however, that the arrangement of the 'Temporale' material appears to have been determined by two different structural principles—that of constructing a consecutive biography of Christ, and that of assembling appropriate narratives about the two *nuclei* of Christmas and Easter. Which of these principles antedated the other it is impossible at present to decide.

[7] Citations from the text of the *Legends* refer throughout (unless otherwise noted) to Horstmann's edition of MS. Laud 108, *E. E. T. S.* 87.

We ne ffyndeþ nouȝt ywrite (*S. P.* v. 1515).
We ne findeȝ nouȝt iwrite (*John Baptist.* v. 3).

Swete Ihesu, muche was þe loue þat þou cuddest þere (*S. P.* v. 1667).
Louerd, muche is þi miȝte and þat þou cuddest wel þere (*Wolfstan.* v. 42).

Þer nas non so hey of ham þat sore agast nas (*S. P.* v. 1805).
Þare nas nouȝt on þat it iseiȝ þat glad and ioyful þere-fore nas (*Edward King*, v. 148).

Further, the attitude toward the church and society reflected in the *Passion* is in general that seen in the *Legends*, as is also the implied relation between writer and audience.[1] Such differences as appear between the *Legends* and the *Passion*—as, for example, the heightened emotional tone of certain passages in the latter—are in the main referable to difference in subject-matter. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, then, it appears wholly reasonable to refer to the *Southern Passion* as belonging to the *South English Legendary*.

The general correspondences noted above do not, of course, give warrant for asserting identity of authorship for all the legends and Scriptural pieces even in the early collections. Additions and changes were made by various hands, as the *Legendary* circulated, and it is impossible to determine at what point this process began. At the same time, the homogeneous character of the pieces in the early manuscripts offers an obstacle to the acceptance of Horstmann's theory of the *Legendary* as originally a product of group composition.[2]

[1] These correspondences are discussed under Chapter V.

[2] The general similarity of the various pieces Horstmann accounted for as 'die Mitwerkung Vieler in demselben Sinne und Stile' (*Altengl. Leg.*, N.F., p. xliv). Collaboration he assumed to have been necessary in view of the proportions on which the enterprise was planned, since 'merely to collect the materials ... transcended the power of one man' (*E. E. T. S.* 87, viii). This conclusion, however, Horstmann based upon the very questionable premise, that 'no Latin Legendary on the same basis then existed ... which could have been used as a source'. Although no single work is known which contained all the materials used in the *S. E. L.*, compilations certainly existed, as for example the twelfth-century Latin collection of Saints' Legends in Arundel MS. 91, which would have been of material assistance. Moreover, the composition of separate units to be arranged in calendar order would seem on the whole less difficult than the combining of Latin materials into a consecutive English 'Chronicle'

For the *terminus ad quem* of the *Passion*, historical evidence is supplied by the poem itself. In the unabridged texts, which represent the earlier form, is found, in the course of a passage on Doomsday, the following mention of the Jews in England (vv. 471–6):

Þe kynde as þe gospel seyþ ne shal nouȝt awey wende,
Þat is the kynde of gywes þat leue shal ffor to þe laste ende;
Hyt shal byleue ffor-to doomesday and þanne chaunge hare lawe,
And þanne hi shulle to cristendom alle clanliche drawe;
And ffor þis word of þe gospel þis heye men þat beoþ
Leteþ hem lybbe among vs as ȝe now yseoþ.

The reference to contemporary conditions in vv. 475–6 would hardly have been made after the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.[10] For the anterior limit of its period of composition the *Passion* itself offers no evidence; the *terminus a quo* can only be inferred from that of the *Legendary* as a whole. It is certain that the collection was compiled after the accession of Edward I in 1272, inasmuch as reference is made in the legend of St. Edmund the Confessor (v. 506) to 'Þe king Hanry þat was þo, þe kingues sone Ioan'.[11] The date 1281 which occurs in *Dominic* (v. 318) in MS. Laud 108, although it is a scribal slip,[12] may be regarded as fixing the earlier limit for that manuscript. But MS. Laud 108, although early, is manifestly not the original. Its evidence does not in any case help us with the *Passion*, as this poem is not included

such as that of Robert of Gloucester, who, nevertheless, in Horstmann's opinion, could compass Chronicle and Legends as well.

[10] For the edict banishing the Jews, cf. Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Ed. I and Ed. II*, London, 1882, p. 99. It was effectually and promptly carried out; cf. the safe conduct 'Pro omnibus Judeis regnum exeuntibus' addressed by the King to the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, under date July 27, 1290, Rymer's *Foedera*, London, 1816, i. 736. Higden, recording the expulsion of the Jews in his *Polychronicon*, adds the succinct testimony: 'nec hactenus redierunt' (*Polychron.*, ed. Rolls Ser., viii. 270).

[11] *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 445.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 287; the Vernon MS. (as noted here) reads accurately 'twenti' instead of 'fourscore'. The significance of the line in its bearing on the date of the Laud text was noted by Sir Frederick Madden in the introduction to his edition of *Havelok* (Roxburghe Club, 1828).

among its contents.[12] We shall not be far astray in assigning the composition of the *Legendary*, and inferentially that of the *Southern Passion*, to the decade between 1275 and 1285.

The *Southern Passion* is, in its larger outlines, a faithful rendering of material from the accounts of the four Evangelists, which is woven with no little skill into a continuous narrative. It is distinguished by a grave restraint and an almost austerely canonical temper, specially noteworthy in an age which allowed wide imaginative liberty in writing upon sacred themes. This poet's purpose was, apparently, to reproduce closely the matter of his original, especially in recording the words and acts of Jesus and Mary. His practice is consistent; it is well illustrated by the fact that he refrains from introducing into his account the *Planctus* which almost invariably accompany Latin treatments of the Passion theme. At the point where *Planctus Mariae* might naturally have been attracted into the narrative, the poet says only (vv. 1515–16):

> We ne ffyndeþ nouȝt y-write þat oure lady in al hure sore
> Spak ouȝt bote made deol y-now, ne miȝte no womman more.

Again, the conventional lament of Christ from the Cross is wanting in the account of the Crucifixion, where the poet's fidelity to the canonical text is clearly affirmed (v. 1519):

> Oure lord ne spak to ham namore þat we owher rede.

More surprisingly, we find no reference to the Harrowing of Hell. The portions of the pöem which are based upon New Testament material constitute, in short, a metrical translation, rather than a paraphrase.

Although the Scriptural material has been but little tampered with, it has been added to in various ways. The poet's scruples did not require him to exclude apocryphal incidents traditionally connected with Judas and the other apostles; and the miraculous conversions of Denis and Longinus are inserted in the Crucifixion story. But his characteristic bent is toward edification; he neglects no opportunity for explaining the symbolism of ritual, for emphasizing the disci-

[12] It contains, however, as has been noted, a fragment of the related *Life of Christ* in the longer version.

pline of the Church, or for illustrating through his material some lesson of conduct. At the same time, he endeavours to move, as well as instruct, his audience; in connexion especially with the narrative of the Crucifixion we find frequent passages which almost passionately implore the listener to share in spirit the sufferings of Christ.

The distinctive character of the *Southern Passion* stands out more clearly on comparing it with other pieces of approximately the same *genre*. The best known narrative treatments of the Passion in Middle English verse are the thirteenth-century *Passion of our Lord* in Jesus College Oxford MS. 29,[14] the 'Middle English *Evangelie*' of the early fourteenth century,[15] and the somewhat later *Northern Passion*.[16] The first-named of these, which is written in the same meter as the slightly later *Southern Passion*, is a relatively brief Scriptural paraphrase in the manner of a *chanson de geste*; it lacks all homiletic amplification. The *Evangelie*, like the *Southern Passion*, presents a moralized and commentated narrative, but proceeds from the poet's self-confessed desire to win Divine approval; the author of the *Southern Passion* appears to be actuated wholly by the desire to instruct. From the *Northern Passion*, with its lively dramatic dialogue and wealth of picturesque legendary incident,[17] the Southern poem is as remote in spirit as in dialect and metrical form. From all these pieces the *Southern Passion* is set apart by its more explicit didacticism and hortative tone; it is, in short, more obviously than any of the other pieces, a sermon.

With this character of the *Southern Passion* in mind, we may find in examining the sources of the poem a further interest than that of analysing the author's design and reconstructing

[14] *Old English Miscellany*, *E. E. T. S.* 49, pp. 37–57.

[15] Ed. Dr. Gertrude H. Campbell, *P. M. L. A.* xxx. 529–618.

[16] Ed. Dr. F. A. Foster, *E. E. T. S.* 145.

[17] The following legendary material in the *N.P.* has no parallel in the *S.P.*; the vision of Paradise seen by John as he lies on the breast of Jesus at the *Cena*, vv. 271–94; the history of the Holy Rood tree, vv. 1297–1438; the story of the smith and the nails, vv. 1439–1502; the miracle of the Vernicle, vv. 1–54 (Addit. MS. only); the story of the imprisonment of Joseph of Arimathaea, vv. 1920–26 (Harl. MS. 4196). The Scriptural material in the *N.P.* is often so freely treated as to assume, by contrast with the *S.P.*, almost the character of fiction.

his literary background. For the sermon, like the drama, is a highly social expression; and in noting sources, we are really noting certain specific materials from the literature of the church which became transmuted into popular religious thought. Thus the recognition of our author's fidelity to the Vulgate text makes clear the somewhat important fact that an accurate vernacular harmony of considerable portions of the gospels was put into early circulation. Of lesser consequence, doubtless, is the service performed by the poem in diffusing miscellaneous notions of patristic theology. In relation, however, to one source in particular—the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—the *Southern Passion* assumes a special significance. In carrying forward the influence of this work to the laity, the poem serves as interpreter of the mystic ideal—the concept of a direct relation between the soul and God, attainable through meditation. This, reduced to elementary terms, becomes the approach to Christ through sympathetic contemplation of his life in the flesh. The *Southern Passion*, then, is one of the concrete media through which was accomplished the spread of mysticism in the thirteenth century.

Lacking those elements which made the *Northern Passion* in the following century readily available for the uses of drama, the *Southern Passion* appears to have left little verbal impress on popular literature in the larger sense. At the same time the incorporation of a portion of the poem in one text of the Northern *Cursor Mundi*[18] testifies that in the field of pious narrative its influence was felt far outside the original region of its composition. And some measure of its popularity is afforded by the considerable number of extant texts in which it is preserved.

[18] Horstmann noted (*N.F.*, p. lxvii) that a passage from the *Resurrectio* had been taken over into the Cotton MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*. Carleton Brown pointed out some time later (*Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, 15–18) that another passage of considerable length, dealing with the sufferings of Christ on the cross, had also been inserted in the same MS. The MS. of the *S.P.* which Professor Brown collated with the *C.M.* (Harl. MS. 2277) is less close to the text of the latter than are other MSS. of the *S.P.*, viz. MS. Pepys 2344, King's College Camb. MS. 13 (Pt. 2), and MS. Bodl. Addit. C. 38, which constitute a group distinct from that to which the Harley MS. belongs (cf. Chap. II, following).

The value of the *Southern Passion* for the modern reader must vary largely with his individual taste and temper. Certain inherent merits, however, it retains. The narrative is structurally firm; although impeded by didactic matter, it moves according to a governing principle from a definite beginning to a definite end. Further, it adjusts a faithful translation to the demands of a complicated narrative and a regular metrical scheme. And apart from these matters of workmanship, the poem reflects occasionally a vigorous originality of mind. The rarity of instances of pre-Chaucerian realism warrants quotation of the following (vv. 1959–62):—

Whanne men sitteþ in hare hayt vp hare ale-benche,
And habbeþ þe pycher ꝛ þe coppe, ꝛ þe botyler to schenche,
Þanne is hare iangle ꝛ hare game to deme som sely wenche,—
Þat god ȝeue þat some of ham miȝte in þe ale-ffat a-drenche!

Even more than by this rough sketch from real life, the author's sharp observation and independence of judgement are illustrated by a passage dealing with contemporary social ethics. Without concessions to convention, he indicts the 'double standard' of sex morality in terms of concrete fact. If a man forgoes 'wild oats',

Me wolde him holde worþy to lygge in shryne.

No credit, however, is given a woman of equally scrupulous conduct:

What is þanne þe woman worþ, as þe meste del beoþ,
Þat ne beoþ ouercome wiþ no byddyng, as we al day y-seoþ?
ȝeo ne shal no seint beo y-holde, ak al stille hit shal beo.
What manere is þis? y ne kan no reason her-on y-seo.

Conversely, in the case of a woman, a slip cancels future chances of married happiness; a man given to the worst excesses is in no danger of suffering the same consequences:—

Me ne seoþ no man þe later him ȝiue a wyf y-wis,—
Kniȝt ne baroun ne oþer man,—ȝif þat he riche is.

The entire passage (vv. 1925–82) repays study, as an anticipation of modern thought.

A more subtle virtue of the poem, however, lies in the character of its appeal to feeling. This is not to be sought in those lines which dwell on the sufferings of Christ and voice

the poet's indignation over man's indifference to them ; these laments, derived in the main from semi-lyrical passages in Latin treatises, have the impersonal tone of echo. The flavour lies rather in certain passages of sympathetic narrative, and results from an inherent delicacy of reaction on the part of the poet to situations of especially profound appeal. In the midst of a literature saturated with the physical horrors of the Crucifixion, the treatment in the *Southern Passion* stands out as singularly controlled ; gruesome details are not exploited, and each incident is recorded with grave, almost reticent simplicity. Of this aspect of the poem, vv. 1580–2 are typical :—

'My ffader', Ihesus sede þo, myd wel softe breþe,
'Ich bytake my gost in þin hond'; and þo closede his eye,
And his heued heng adoun ; and myd þat word gan to deye.

Perhaps more than any other passage in the poem, the account of the assembling of the disciples for the *Cena* reveals the sensitiveness of the writer to the quality of his material (vv. 867–71) :—

Byffore þe ffeste of Ester day, Ihesus wuste ȝare
Þat his tyme was ney ycome, þat he sholde hennes ffare
Out of þis wordle to his ffader ; & he was so þere
Þat he louede his owe men þat in þe world were,—
He louede ham wel atten ende.

Apart, however, from any question of literary or historical values, the *Southern Passion* has a definite interest for the student of language. In MS. Pepys 2344 (from which no pieces have heretofore been printed) we have a useful South-western text, consistent in grammatical and orthographical usage, which adds to the available materials for the historical study of English vocabulary a varied and interesting 'word-hoard'.

CHAPTER II

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SOUTHERN PASSION*

A. *Description of the MSS.*

The *Southern Passion* is preserved in ten manuscripts of the *South English Legendary*; in addition a fragmentary and much garbled text occurs in a fifteenth-century miscellany of devotional and other pieces. The MSS. are listed below in chronological order, so far as this can be determined.

H. MS. Harley 2277, fols. 4 a–26 a.

A parchment book of 232 leaves, large quarto, 38–40 lines to the page; written in a hand of about 1300.[1] The name of the legend is usually written at the top of each page in red or blue letters.[2] The name 'John Sanford' is scribbled on the margin of fol. 21 a and elsewhere, and the words 'Dieu saulue nostre royne Elizabeth 1577 per moy Johan Sanford' on the margin of fol. 22 a. Wanley, in his account of this manuscript,[3] states that it was owned by the family of Sanford of Comersley in Somersetshire. The words 'John Gower poet' are written in the margin of fol. 8 a in a hand later than the scribe's.

H is the earliest known MS. of the *S. E. L.* whose contents are arranged in the order of the Church year.[4] It is defective, the first extant article being the *Life of St. Benedict* (March 21), which begins imperfectly. The catalogue lists sixty-nine

[1] Wanley (*Cat. Harl. MSS.* ii. 637) regarded the hand as earlier than 1320; W. H. Black (*Thomas Beket*, Percy Soc., xix, p. xiv) was of the opinion that the MS. was written a little later than the time of Robert of Gloucester. The MS. is dated 1300 by Horstmann (*Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, p. iv), and this date is accepted by Brown (*Register*, i, 324).

[2] The MS. is described by Horstmann, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cat. Harl. MSS.*, ii. 639.

[4] Contents are listed by Horstmann, *loc. cit.*, and *E. E. T. S.* 87, xiv–xvii; also by Brown, *Register*, i. 324–9. Cf. also Wells, *Manual*, pp. 294–5 (based on Horstmann).

articles, all of which are Saints' Lives except Nos. 2, 3, 5–8 (the *Passion*), 13, 14, 51, 52 (verses explanatory of Church feasts), and 68–9 (Lives of the 'liper birds' Judas and Pilate). The text of the *St. Brandan* has been printed from this MS. by Wright,[5] that of *Thomas Beket* by Black,[6] and that of several of the Lives by Furnivall.[7]

The *Passion* is defective, a lacuna of probably twelve leaves (912 vv.) occurring between fols. 11 and 12. The remainder of the account is unbroken, and presents the story of the Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost. The page headings indicate the contents of the pages as follows: 'Leynte-Passiun', fols. 4 a–6 b (through the triumphal entry); 'Passiun', fols. 7 a–11 a (through the beginning of the parable of the ten virgins); no heading, fols. 11 b–15 a (through the middle of the story of the Crucifixion); 'Pascha', fols. 15 b–24 a (through the Ascension); 'Pentecost', fols. 24 b–25 b (Ascension to the end).

In the *Resurrectio* and *Ascensio* sections, marginal rubrications in a contemporary hand divide the text into passages appropriate to Easter and the successive days of the week following: 'Ewangelium in die Pasche secundum Marcum',[8] etc.

P. Pepys MS. 2344, pp. 183–237.

A MS. of 528 pages, forty-seven lines to a page; numerous initials in colours; a fine regular hand of the early fourteenth century.[9]

P is one of the earliest examples of the complete (or virtually complete) *Legendary*. It begins with *St. Andrew*. The *Sanctorale* comprises the usual prologue and ninety-three Saints' Legends and *Miracula*; the *Temporale* consists of a Christmas poem, the *Passion*, the Lives of Judas and Pilate, and nine metrical expositions of feast-days.

The text of the *Passion* is complete. Marginal headings on each page indicate the contents, not always accurately, as follows: 'Ewangelium in quadragesima', pp. 183–209 (through the trial before Caiaphas); 'Passio domini in Ewangelio

[5] Percy Soc., xiv. [6] Percy Soc., xix.

[7] *Early English Poems*, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1862, pp. 34–118.

[8] Recorded in the *Register*, i. 325.

[9] Cf. James's *Catalogue of Mediaeval MSS.*, Bibliotheca Pepysiana, p. 89; contents listed here and in *Register*, i. 219–26.

dicatur', p. 210; 'Passio domini', pp. 211–19 (through the *Sepultio*); 'Resurreccio domini', p. 220 (verses explaining Easter); 'Ewangelium post resurrectionem', p. 221 (appearance to the two Maries); 'Ewangelium Magdalene', pp. 222–3 (appearance to the Magdalene); 'Ewangelium', pp. 224–33 (through the appearance to the eleven disciples); 'Assencio domini', p. 234 (the Ascension); 'Post assencionem domini', p. 235 (choosing of Matthias); 'Pentecoste', p. 236.

K. King's College Cambridge MS. 13, Pt. II, fols. 3 a–31 b.

A vellum MS. of 130 leaves; Pt. I containing the romance *William of Palerne*; Pt. II an incomplete *Liber Festivalis*, 48 leaves (originally 86), single column, 34–6 lines to a page, in the same hand, of the fourteenth century.[10]

Pt. II contains, besides the *Passion*, three explanations of feast-days, six Saints' Lives, and the Lives of Judas and Pilate.[11] The text of the *Passion* is complete. There are no rubrications.

E. MS. Egerton 2891, fols. 40 a–57 b.

A MS. of 194 leaves, forty lines to a page, in a clear hand of the early fourteenth century.[12]

E is a comprehensive collection, although the MS. begins and ends imperfectly and has suffered the loss of leaves here and there. In its present state it begins in the *Life of St. Agnes*, and contains seventy-two Saints' Legends and *Miracula*, five explanations of feast-days, the *Passion*, and the Lives of Judas and Pilate.

From fol. 40 a piece has been torn away near the binding so that the beginnings of vv. 1–18 on the recto, and the endings of vv. 41–55 on the verso are wanting. Opposite the first line of the poem is the heading: 'Passio domini nostri Ihesu

[10] Cf. James, *Catalogue of the MSS. of King's Coll. Camb.*, p. 23. Sir F. Madden dated the MS. 'soon after the middle of the XIV century', and regarded the handwriting in Parts I and II as different (cf. the reprint of his introduction to *William of Palerne* (E.E.T.S. Ext. Ser. I, xxiii).

[11] The contents of Part II are listed in part by Madden, *loc. cit.*; by Horstmann, *E. E. T. S.* 87, xxiv (the MS. here cited incorrectly as 15); by James, *Catalogue*, pp. 23–5, and by Brown, *Register*, i. 214–15. Wells (*Manual*, p. 299) notes that the MS. contains twelve items of the *S.E.L.*

[12] Brown, *Register*, i. 298; contents listed with rubrications, pp. 298–302.

Xristi secundum matthaeum'. The post-Resurrection material is divided by rubrications into readings for the several ferials of Easter, for Ascension-day, and Whitsuntide.

V. Bodl. MS. 3938 (MS. Vernon), fols. 19 b, col. 1–27 a, col. 1.

A vellum MS. of 412 leaves, written about 1385–1390,[13] in an exceptionally clear, regular hand; with initials of unusual beauty.[14] The text of the *Passion* is written in double columns of eighty lines each.

The *South English Legendary* occupies fols. 1 a–103 a. The *Sanctorale* includes eighty-one Saints' Lives and the usual prologue; the *Temporale* includes an Advent poem (containing the *Life of Christ* in a unique version); seven metrical expositions of feasts, and the *Passion*.[15]

At the point in the *Passion* where the *Pascha* normally occurs, only two verses of the latter poem appear. The accompanying rubrication *vt supra* refers the reader to fols. 19 a–19 b, where the *Pascha* is found as one of the group of metrical expositions. No other marginal notations are added.

Ty. Trinity College Oxford MS. 57, fols. 7 a–22 a.

A parchment book of 169 leaves, fifty lines to a page,[16] in a clear hand of the fourteenth century;[17] initials few and plain: the sign ¶ used at regular six-line intervals.

Ty is a fragmentary text of the *Legendary*, comprising fifty-six

[13] Brown, *Register*, i. 49. Inasmuch as this MS. contains a poem on the earthquake of 1382, the date given by Horstmann, 1380 (*E.E.T.S.* 87, p. xix), is somewhat too early.

[14] This well-known MS. has been frequently described. Cf., among others, Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, pp. xix–xx.

[15] Contents are listed by Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. xx–xxv (the MS. index to contents through fol. 103 is here reprinted) and *E. E. T. S.* 87, xix–xx; also by Brown, *Register*, i. 49–71. A summary of the contents is given by Wells, *Manual*, p. 297.

[16] The MS. is described by Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie asservantur* (Oxford, 1852), Pars II, p. 21, and more fully by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, pp. xxx–xxxi.

[17] Dated by Coxe (*Cat.* ii, 21, 'sec. XV ineuntis'; by Horstmann (*op. cit.*, p. xxx, 'aus dem Ende des 14. Jhdts.'; by Brown, *Register*, i. 151, 'end of XIV'.

Saints' Lives, seven explanations of feast-days, the *Passion*, and the Lives of Judas and Pilate.[18]

The 'Passio' section of the *Passion* is indicated by the rubric '*Passio domini*', which occurs at the proper point on the right-hand margin of fol. 7 a, and at the top of the recto of each folio through 14 a. On fol. 14 b the word 'Pascha' occurs in the right-hand margin, opposite the first line of the festal verses for Easter, and on the upper margin of fol. 15 a. 'Demonstratio ihesu cristi' or 'demonstratio' occurs on the recto of each following folio through 21 a; 'Ascencio domini', fol. 21 b; 'Pentecost', fol. 22 a.

B. Bodl. MS. 2567 (MS. Bodley 779), fols. 25 b–40 a, 171 a–171 b.

A paper MS. of 310 leaves, single column of fifty-six lines, in an irregular hand of the first half of the fifteenth century.[19]

This is one of the largest collections, combining legends from various sources. The *Sanctorale* includes 122 Lives (the Prologue is lacking); the *Temporale*, twelve explanations of feast-days (*Pascha* is copied twice), the *Ewangelium Sancti Johannis*, the Advent poem (two versions), and the *Passion*.[20] Portions of the *Temporale* are distributed through the book, with no apparent order of arrangement. The *Ascencio* and *Pentecost* sections of the *Passion* (fols. 171 a–172 a) are separated from the *Passio* and *Resurrectio* (fols. 25 b–40 b) by several intervening pieces. The *Passion* begins with the account of events of Tuesday in Holy Week; the opening line corresponds to v. 749 of the text of *P.*

On fol. 25 b, just above and to the right of the opening line

[18] Contents listed by Coxe, *Cat.* ii. 21–5; by Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii; and by Brown, *Register*, i. 151–6. Wells gives a summary of the contents (*Manual*, p. 296).

[19] Cf. *Summary Catalogue*; the MS. was described also by Horstmann, who dated it variously as sixteenth century (*Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, p. xxxiv) and fifteenth century (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. xxii).

[20] Contents listed by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Paderborn, pp. xxxv–xxxvii, and *E. E. T. S.* 87, pp. xxii–xxiii; also by Brown, *Register*, i. 29–37. Wells gives a brief note on the MS. (*Manual*, p. 299). A number of the Saints' Lives in this MS. have been printed by Horstmann, *Arch.* lxxxii, 307–53 and 369–422.

of the *Passion* is found the rubrication 'Passion of crist'. The heading 'Passioun', in the hand of the text, occurs on the recto of each succeeding folio through 41 a, the article 'þe' being prefixed on the last three folios. The title *Passion* is thus made to include, by the rubrication, the entire poem through the appearance to Thomas.

T. Bodl. MS. 9837 (MS. Tanner 17), fols. 48 b–80 a.

A MS. of 111 leaves, forty-two lines to the page,[21] in a clear coarse hand of the early fifteenth century.[22] The MS. is inscribed 'Thom. Tanner ex dono Gul. Herne, Jan. 20, 1730'.

This is a fragmentary manuscript, containing only the first forty-four items of the *S. E. L.* It begins with the *Banna Sanctorum* and breaks off in the legend of Augustine. The contents include thirty-six Saints' Lives, the usual festal verses, and the *Passion*, the last-named followed by the Lives of Judas and Pilate.[23]

L. Bodl. MS. 1596 (MS. Laud Misc. 463), fols. 26 a–35 b.

A MS. of 164 leaves, written in two columns, one of long lines, forty-eight to a page, the other of half-lines, forty-eight to a page, in a fair hand of the early fifteenth century;[24] a very few plain initials.

The *Legendary* is complete; it begins with the usual prologue (here entitled 'þe cristendam of þe world') and includes eighty-six Legends and *Miracula*, nine metrical expositions of feasts, the *In Principio*, the *Passion*, and the Lives of Judas and

[21] Described by Zupitza, *Anglia*, i. 409.

[22] Zupitza, *loc. cit.*; Brown, *Register*, i. 93. In the *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars IV, col. 18, the date is given as 'XVth century'.

[23] Contents listed in the *Cat. Cod. MSS. Bibl. Bodl.*, Pars IV, cols. 18-21; by Brown, *Register*, i. 93–6. Zupitza collated the contents of the MS. with those of Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 145, *Anglia*, i, pp. 394–410. Horstmann mentions this MS. briefly in *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. ix, and *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. lvi. In the latter he states erroneously that *T* has the first 24, instead of the first 44, of the items usually found in the *S. E. L.* Wells (*Manual*, p. 296) notes that it contains 44 items.

[24] Described by Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, pp. xxxi–xxxii; cf. also Brown, *Register*, i. 11.

Pilate. A table of contents stands on fol. 1 b with the heading: 'hec est continentia huius libri in lingua anglicana'.[25]

A. Bodl. MS. 30236 (MS. Add. C. 38), fols. 84 b–95 b.

A parchment MS. of 121 leaves, single column of forty lines, in a clear hand of *ca.* 1410;[26] illuminated border and capitals.

A is a fragmentary text of the *Legendary*; the *Sanctorale* includes thirty-three Saints' Lives, and the usual prologue; the *Temporale* includes seven explanations of feast-days, the *Testamentum Christi*, and the *Passion*.[27]

The rubrication 'passio domini', in the same hand as the text, occurs in the upper right-hand margin of the recto of fols. 85–93. The term *Passio* thus covers events through the burial of Christ. Fols. 93 b, 94 a have the rubrication 'festum pasche'; fol. 94 b 'ascencio domini'; fols. 95 a, 96 a 'festum Pentecoste'.

F. Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 5. 48, fols. 87 b–95 a.

A paper MS. quarto, of 140 leaves, thirty lines to a page, in a hand of the middle of the fifteenth century. The MS. has been rendered almost illegible in many places by rain-water, as well as by the mistaken zeal of restorers.[28]

This MS. is a miscellany in which are included, in a group, three pieces from the *S. E. L.*; viz. the legend of Michael, the verses on the Annunciation, and the *Passion*. It is the only MS. in which both the *Northern Passion* and the *Southern Passion* appear.[29]

The oldest catalogue attributes the pieces in this collection to one Pilkington, but he appears to have been responsible for no more than the transcription of one poem.

[25] Contents listed by Horstmann, Brown, *loc. cit.* This MS. contains three religious pieces not belonging to the *Legendary*. Wells has a note on the MS. (*Manual*, p. 296).

[26] Cf. Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, v. 764. The language would suggest a somewhat later date (cf. p. 50 below).

[27] Contents listed in *Register*, i. 126–8.

[28] Cf. *Cat. MSS. Libr. Univ. Camb.* (1857), ii. 505. This MS. is described also by J. A. H. Murray, *E. E. T. S.* 61, p. lvii, and by Dr. F. A. Foster, *Northern Passion*, i. 14–15.

[29] Contents listed in Catalogue, *loc. cit.*, and in *Register*, i. 182.

This text of the *Southern Passion*, which varies radically from all other MSS., has been disregarded in the following discussion.

B. *The Relation of the MSS.*

The ten MSS. of the *Southern Passion* (excluding Camb. Ff. 5. 48 as a late and worthless variant) fall into two main groups, the first comprising *P K A* and the second *H V T B Ty E L*. These two groups will be referred to as π and τ respectively. Neither of these groups can be accepted as preserving with exactness the original text of the poem. Thus vv. 350 a–350 d and 2412 a–2412 f, which must have stood in the original, are preserved in *H* (the oldest and most authentic MS. of Group τ), but are wanting in *P K*. On the other hand, *P K* preserve vv. 310–15 (apparently from the original text) which are wanting in *H*. The versions represented by Groups π and τ are not widely divergent in respect to content: the variation between them consists chiefly in the phrasing of lines or half-lines, transpositions, and the like. The following examples (selected from many) may be cited to illustrate the divergence between the two groups.

Group π. Þe mone wiþdrow hure liȝt also (*P*, v. 1551).
Group τ. Þe sonne wiþdrouh hire liht also (*H*, v. 564).

Group π. ffram ffraday ffor-to soneday ffro workes ham wiþdrawe (*P*, v. 1708).
Group τ. Hi þoȝte him smyrie þe soneday as þe dai gan dawe (*H*, v. 717).

Group π. My god whi hastou me fforsake? þo þe gost sholde out go,
My god whi hastou me fforsake? eftsone he sede so
(*P*, vv. 1569–70).

In MSS. of Group τ the order of the lines in this couplet is transposed.

1. Group π (MSS. *P, K, A*)

P and *K* agree so closely in their readings as to suggest a direct relationship between them. As both MSS. were written in the first half of the fourteenth century it would be

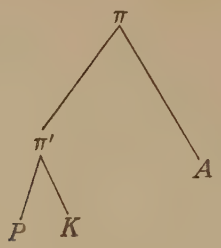
difficult to decide on palaeographical evidence alone which was the earlier. Moreover, a line for line comparison of the two texts establishes the fact that neither was copied from the other. For the scribe of *K* omits four lines (vv. 106, 110, 2531, and 2532) which are found in *P*, while on the other hand *P* lacks two couplets which appear in *K*. One of these couplets (printed as vv. 2224 a–2224 b), being required by the context, must have been skipped by the scribe of *P*. But the other couplet (vv. 1718 a, b) may possibly be an expansion on the part of the *K* scribe. Further evidence tending to show that *P* was not copied from *K* is seen when one considers the general contents of these two MSS. For whereas *K* is an extremely incomplete text of the *S. E. L.*, containing only a few pieces, apparently selected, *P* presents a complete and organized collection. So far, however, as the text of the *Passion* is concerned, the similarity between these two MSS. is so close as to make it appear that both were copied from the same MS.

A, a much later MS. of Group =, represents an abridgement of the normal text. It omits certain passages dealing with Judas (vv. 27–8, 35–40, 787–92), the account of the triumphal entry (vv. 41–138), the acts and teachings in Jerusalem (vv. 139–758), the discourse at the Last Supper (vv. 829–968, 929–1070), a detail in the Crucifixion (vv. 1615–20), and the Appearances after the Resurrection (vv. 1783–2366). That this text is a true abridgement, and cannot represent the original extent of the poem, is clear from the illogical character of the transitions in the short form. For example, vv. 1–32 of *A*, containing the account of the anointing at Bethany, are followed immediately by v. 759 according to *P*.

Þan morwe as þan wednesday, as hi hare red nome.

A agrees with *P K* in all the crucial readings differentiating Groups = and –. In numerous points of detail, however, *A* reads with MSS. of the other group; e.g. *H V A bed. P K fet*, v. 7: *H V A and so. P K eft*, v. 20, &c. These instances may point to contamination. It is probable, however, that the scribe of *A* had access to a more primitive text of Group = than that which gave rise to *P* and *K*.

The relations of MSS. within Group π may be thus represented:



Explanation.
π = parent text of group.
π' = text which has introduced minor corruptions.
A = abridgement of π, or of a direct descendant.

A, although included in Group π on the basis of crucial readings, presents abridgements which in several instances correspond to those of the sub-group of texts of the short recension in Group τ. This relationship will be discussed in connexion with the latter group.

2. Group τ (MSS. *H, V, B, T, Ty, E, L*)

Three of the MSS. in this group, *Ty*, *E*, and *L*, constitute a sub-class which will be discussed under § 3.

Of the remaining MSS., only one, *T*, gives a complete text of the *Passion*. *H* is defective, a gathering of leaves involving vv. 595-1502 of the *Passion* being lost. *V* and *B* have been independently abridged; a number of passages, chiefly of hortative or expository character, are omitted from *V*,[30] and all the material preceding the *Cena* from *B*,[31] which begins at v. 749. *T*, although complete, has many corrupt passages, and the normal order of material in the post-Resurrection portion is transposed.

V and *T* derive from a text (τ') later than *H*, since these two

[30] The manner in which *V* has been edited supports the conclusions drawn by Miss J. D. Sutton (in her discussion of the Vernon *Ipotis*) that the scribe of the Vernon MS. was addicted to tinkering the texts that came to his hands (*P. M. L. A.*, xxxi. 114-60).

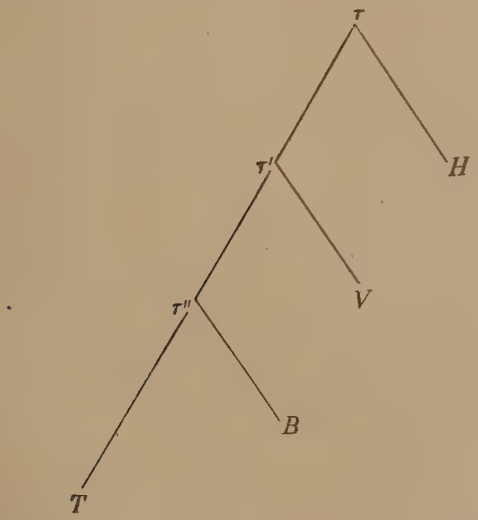
[31] *B* has also a number of unique passages, apparently interpolated.

MSS. have corrupted readings in vv. 415–17, which reads correctly in *H*:—

> ꝛ for wickede dede
> To moche worþ among hem, loue ꝛ godhede
> Of meni worþ al akeled.[32]

B and *T* derive from a text (τ'') later than τ', since an interpolated couplet, vv. 1284 a, b, is common to both.

The relation of the texts in Group τ is indicated by the following diagram:



At least one text showing the transposed order of material which characterizes *T* is to be assumed between τ'' and *T*.

3. Sub-Group λ

This group, which comprises *Ty*, *E*, and *L*, represents a shortened recension of the original. The purpose of the abridgement was apparently to reduce the poem to a narrative of events, since the passages omitted by all three MSS. are almost wholly expository.

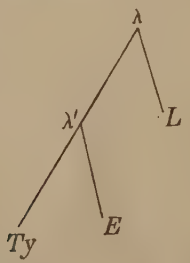
[32] Cf. Matt. xxiv. 12, 'Et quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum.'

Common to the group are eleven excisions of varying length: vv. 11–16, 27–8, 37–758, 787–92, 829–908, 929–1070, 1615–20, 1783–4, 2039–40, 2221–4, 2255–6. *L* is further shortened by the omission of over forty short passages, chiefly couplets, and by the frequent condensation of three lines into one. *E* agrees for the most part with *Ty* in excisions and transposition, but concludes somewhat surprisingly at v. 2366, with the commission to the Apostles to go into all the world and preach.

The three MSS. clearly derive from a common abridgement, which is not, however, reproduced exactly by any one of them. Thus *Ty*, the most inclusive of the three, lacks a few lines which are preserved in *E*: 1231–2, 1334–5. Nor can *L* have been abridged from the immediate ancestor of *Ty* and *E*, as it contains v. 1393, which is lacking in both the other texts, and vv. 1333–6, of which the first line is wanting in *E*, the last two in *Ty*.

The material from v. 1873 to the end is divided by rubrications into several sections. These units are variously arranged in the three MSS.; the order in *E*, however, differing only slightly from that in *Ty*, whereas that in *L* stands apart from both.

It is obvious that, to account for these correspondences and variations, numerous other manuscripts of this short recension must have existed besides those which have come down to us. The general relation of the MSS. in this sub-group may be indicated by the following diagram:



It remains to consider the relation between the abridged version represented by this group, and *A*, the abridged MS. in Group π. Of the eleven excisions common to Sub-group λ, six (vv. 27–8, 37–758, 787–92, 829–908, 929–1070, 1615–20) are

shared by *A*. Since *A* omits all the post-Resurrection material to the Ascension (vv. 1783–2366), we have no further basis for comparison. But it is to be noted that vv. 11–16, which represent the first excision of the λ version, stand in *A*. This MS. is thus seen to be linked with both groups. One may suppose that the scribe of *A* was guided by the excisions in an abridged text while transcribing a MS. of Group π. Confirmation of this conclusion is afforded by the treatment in the same MS. of the text of the *Evangelie*, which, as Dr. Campbell has shown, must have been transcribed from two MSS., one giving a condensed, the other an expanded, form of the poem.[33]

The point at which Sub-group λ should be attached to the main stem is difficult to determine. It would appear, however, that some MS. intermediate between *B* and *T* was the direct ancestor of the original abridgement, on the following grounds :

1. The readings in general follow *B*.

2. The transposition of the post-Resurrection material is characteristic of *T* alone, among MSS. of the complete *Passion*. The order of units in *L* is close to that in *T*.

3. A couplet, vv. 1231–2 of the normal text, is omitted in *Ty* and *L* (although retained in *E*) and is wanting in *T* at the point where it properly belongs, but patched clumsily in at a point farther along in the narrative, where it is obviously not in keeping with the context.[34] It would appear that in the common ancestor of *T* and the abridged group, the couplet in question was omitted, and the omission remedied in the margin. The manner in which succeeding texts dealt with such a passage would vary according to the intelligence of the scribe.

4. The MSS. of the *Legendary* in which *Ty*, *L*, and *T* are respectively included show striking agreement in content.

[33] Cf. *P. M. L. A.*, xxx. 541.

[34] The lines are as follows :

Hi bounde him to a pyler : and wyþ scourges gonne him bete
Þat þer ȝorn doun to his ffet : þe blody stremes grete.

They belong properly in the narrative of the trial before Caiaphas. In *T*, they are brought in after v. 1414, in the narrative of events taking place in the hall of Pilate :

Þo pilat hadde oure lord dempt : þe Iewis hem bi-þouȝte
How þei miȝte most schame do : or þei him to deþe brouȝte.
ffirst þei bounde him, &c.

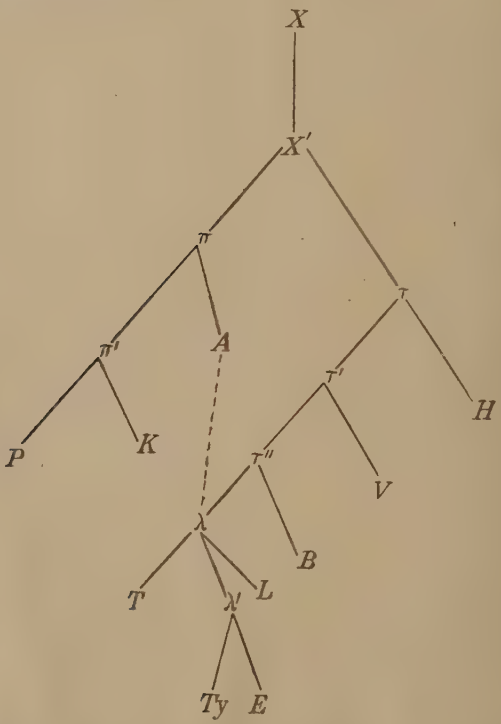
4. The Relation of the Groups

Both Group π and Group τ present the corrupted line—

Þe ston þat þe beolderes habbeþ goed y-ffounde.[35]

Both must therefore be descended from a text (X') later than the original (X).

The relation of the groups to one another is suggested by the following diagram:[36]



[35] Cf. Matt. xxi. 42; Luc. xx. 17; 'Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes.'

[36] With this diagram should be compared the *Stammbaum* of the MSS. of the *Life of St. Brendan* constructed by Dr. Bälz, *Die ME. Brendanlegende des Gloucesterlegendars*, Inaugural Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität. 1909. Dr. Bälz appears to err in making *B* directly dependent on *Ty*. a relationship which the diagram of the *Passion* shows to have been impossible.

CHAPTER III

PROVENIENCE AND DIALECT

The problem of the provenience of the *Southern Passion* can hardly be approached except as part of the larger problem presented by the *South English Legendary*. The identification of the two for purposes of discussion is admissible, inasmuch as no reason appears for doubting that the *Passion* was originally composed for the *Legendary*, and, as has been noted, manuscript evidence indicates that it did not circulate independently. Various considerations of vocabulary, method, and point of view combine, further, to associate the poem with the other pieces in the collection.[1]

Such geographical testimony as is offered by the *Legendary* does not suffice to identify the exact place where the collection was composed. Numerous allusions, however, in the legends of English saints[2] indicate that the southern and south-western

[1] Cf. pp. 9–10 above.

[2] Only those legends have been considered which are common to a number of the early MSS. I append a list of those English saints of most frequent occurrence :

Dunstan	Glastonbury.
Edward the Elder . . .	Shaftesbury.
Wolfston	Worcester.
Edmund King	Bury St. Edmunds.
Edmund the Archbishop . .	Salisbury-Canterbury.
Kenelm	Winchcomb.
Cuthbert	Durham.
Alphege	Bath.
Thomas a Beket	Canterbury.

The larger number of these are seen to have been objects of special local interest in the S.W. The question of sources must of course affect any conclusions in the matter. I have so far as possible checked up the cited passages by versions of the Latin *Vitae*. In any case such definitely localizing phrases as are found in the legends, ' her bi este ' and ' bi norþ here beside ', would hardly be carried over from a source, nor would the phrase reminiscent of experience, ' as ȝut men þer i-seoþ '.

counties of England were thoroughly familiar ground to the author (or authors) of the work.

The shrines, churches, abbeys and the like which are described with an attention to detail suggestive of first-hand acquaintance on the writer's part form a group lying within fairly narrow limits. The most southerly point in this tract is Wareham in Dorset; the author of the *Life of St. Edward the Elder* knew the exact location of Edward's tomb at Wareham, 'bi este þe churche a luyte',[3] and its distance from the final burial-place at Shaftesbury, a shrine which he describes in detail.[4] The Priory of Worcester,[5] the Abbey of Glastonbury,[6] and the church of St. Nicholas at Abingdon[7] are referred to in terms that suggest that these institutions lay within a radius of local interest.

It has been perhaps too readily assumed, in the absence of tangible evidence, that the *Legendary* was compiled at the Abbey of Gloucester. This opinion, for which there is slight foundation beyond the existence of verbal parallels between certain legends and Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, together with a general similarity in vocabulary and dialect, will be more appropriately discussed in connexion with the authorship of the work. It may be noted, however, that no allusions in the legends point to Gloucestershire as their background, whereas, on the other hand, certain passages strongly suggest Somersetshire.

In *Kenelm*, in the course of an inventory of the possessions of the king of Wessex, occur the lines:

[3] *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 50.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52. I do not find this passage in the *Vita* edited by Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, vol. i, 330–49.

[5] Cf. *St. Wulstan*, *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 71. The praise of the Priory of Worcester, the scene of one of the saint's miracles, does not occur in the version printed by Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum*, 1618.

[6] Cf. *St. Dunstan*, *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 20. Surius, whose version of the *Vita* agrees in great part with that in the *S. A. L.*, discusses the connexion of Dunstan with Glastonbury, but does not give the passage in the version found in *S. A. L.* that expresses praise of the institution.

[7] Cf. *St. Edmund the Confessor*, *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 135. The version printed by Surius agrees in the main with that in *S. A. L.*, and runs very close to it in the portion dealing with the death of Mabel, Edmund's mother, but does not mention her tomb at Abingdon, which is described in detail in the poem.

And somersete þat to welles þulke tyme drouȝ;
Nou hit is þe bishopriche of baþe, ȝe witeþ wel ynouȝ.[8]

Such a remark as 'ȝe witeþ wel ynouȝ' would not reasonably be addressed to persons living outside Somersetshire itself, since the laity could hardly be expected to follow the shiftings of other bishoprics than the one in which they found themselves.[9] The possibility that the phrase 'ȝe witeþ wel ynouȝ' may be a meaningless bit of padding (even though it occurs nowhere else in the geographical introduction to *Kenelm*) is disposed of by a piece of significant textual evidence. MS. Laud 108 has the unique reading 'ȝe schullen i-wyten',[10] obviously the correction of an editor who has sacrificed rhyme to plausibility. It happens that this text stands apart on linguistic grounds from the main body of MSS. of the *Legendary*. One would conclude that 'ȝe witeþ wel ynouȝ', far from being a device for filling out the line, was so pointed that a scribe living at a distance from Somersetshire recognized its inappropriateness in his own neighbourhood, and revised accordingly. Somersetshire, then, may be suggested, although not without reservations, as the home of *Kenelm*. The extension of the inference to include other *Legendary* texts is in some measure

[8] *Trans. Philol. Soc.*, 1862, p. 49. The source of the geographical introduction to *Kenelm* is found in the *Gesta Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury, Rolls Series, vol. 90, pp. 100–1. The following passage supplies the basis for the verses in question: 'Et in pago Sumersetensi qui habebat olim apud Wellas episcopum qui nunc est Bathoniae.' The phrase 'ȝe witeþ wel ynouȝ' is obviously the poet's addition.

[9] As a matter of fact, however, Somersetshire at this time belonged to the joint bishopric of Bath and Wells. A heated controversy continued through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries between the Priory of Bath and the secular cathedral of Wells for the possession of the episcopal seat. The conflict dates back ultimately to the removal of the see from Wells to Bath in 1090 by a charter of William Rufus (Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. ii, p. 257). By 1135 the contention had come to such a point that the Pope decreed that in future there should be a joint diocese of Bath and Wells. This decision did not prevent frequent friction; in 1243 the monks of Bath elected a bishop without consulting the canons of Wells. As a result of this, the joint bishopric was more firmly re-established, and bishops 'of Bath and Wells' were thereafter elected until the sixteenth century (Dugdale, *op. cit.*, ii. 277).

[10] *E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 347; cf. side-note 1.

warranted by an allusion in the *Life of St. Swithin.* This saint, the poet says, was born in the reign of Egbert:—

> Þe eiȝteteoþe king he was þat come after kenewold þe kynge
> Þat seint beryn dude to cristendom in Engelonde furst bringe.[11]

Cenwald is mentioned again a few lines later:—

> seint berin her bi weste wende
> And turnde þe king kenewold as oure louerd him grace sende.

Although the 'her bi weste' can signify nothing more definite than Wessex, the general field of Birinus's missionary labours,[12] there is a more pointed significance in the introduction of Cenwald. Bede records that it was Cynegils, not his son, Coinwalh or Cenwalh, who was converted by Birinus,[13] and 'Cynegils' is the name that appears in the Latin versions of the legend of Swithin to which that in the *South English Legendary* approaches most closely.[14] The substitution of Cenwald, if it is not merely a slip, might be accounted for by a local interest in that Saxon king, who was famed for his aggrandizement of the kingdom of the West Saxons. It happens that Somersetshire might naturally have kept up a tradition about Cenwald, for it was at the hill of Peonna, or Pen, in Somersetshire, that he won his most famous victory over the Britons.[15] Alone, the coincidence is worth little, but it should be noted, together with the matter of the bishopric, as

[11] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1862, p. 43.

[12] Cf. *De Sancto Birino*, in *Nova Leg. Angl.*, i. 118–19.

[13] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Plummer, 1896, lib. iii, cap. 7.

[14] *De Sancto Swithuno*, in *Nova Leg. Angl.*, ii. 358. Cf. also *De Sancto Birino, loc. cit.* (The variant 'Kinegilfo' recorded by Horstmann, *Nova Leg. Angl.*, ii, 358, is apparently the result of confusion of the long *s* with *f*.) Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* has 'Kingulf' (v. 4956). *Kinegilpho* is the form found in the *Vita* printed by Surius (iii. 30).

[15] Cf. the *Chronicle* of Florence of Worcester, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 1848, i 531; also the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, Rolls Series, i. 52–4. The significance of the battle is discussed by Lappenberg, *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Thorpe's translation), 1884, i. 318–19; and Hodgkin, *Polit. Hist. of England*, i. 178. The root is preserved in Pensford, the name of a village in the northern part of the county. According to Hodgkin, Poennum (or Peonna) is 'probably the modern "Pensel wood" on the south-eastern border of Somersetshire' (*loc. cit.*).

pointing toward Somersetshire as the home of the *South English Legendary*.

An examination of the language of the MSS. of the *Passion* yields results altogether consonant with the hypothesis of a south-western provenience for the *Legendary*. The area of inquiry is limited at the outset by the almost exclusively Southern character of the early texts. The two earliest MSS. of the independent *Passion*, *H* and *P*, are South-western texts with a slight admixture of Midland forms; they were apparently copied from texts written farther to the South. MS. Laud 108, which contains the earliest text of the *Life of Christ*, is from the Midland border. Later texts, as *T*, *L*, and *A*, exhibit a larger proportion of Midland forms, to be explained doubtless by the widening area of Midland dialect as well as by the circulation of the *Legendary* in territory originally Midland. Only in the variant text in Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 48, and the St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. of the *Life of Christ*, both of which were written in the fifteenth century, do we find a decided Northern shading.[16]

It would obviously be unprofitable, in these circumstances, to repeat in connexion with each MS. tests by which forms common to the South and Midland are distinguished from those characteristic of the North.[17] The object of the following pages is rather to establish the general character of each text as prevailingly Southern or Midland, and wherever possible to

[16] On the former, cf. Murray, *E. E. T. S.* 61, p. lvii; on the latter, Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. li.

[17] Results of a few of the most common tests as applied to the two earliest MSS., *H* and *P*, are herewith supplied, as illustrating the absence of northern shading in the *Southern Passion* in the early stages of its MS. history:

O.E. *ā* > *ō* invariably: *H P stones-bones* *1595–6, &c. O.E. *c* (= *k*) > *ch*: *H moche*, *P muche*, 16, 25, &c.; *H iliche*, *P yliche* 532 &c.; *H churche*, *P chirche*, 87, &c. Plurals in *-en* are frequent: *H P eȝen* 96, 1638; *H lampen* 533, 540; *H cheoken*, *P cheken* 1528; *H P eren* 1528, *H P honden* 1656, 1660, &c.; *H treon* 75, 1595 (*P treos*). The distinction between the vowel of the singular and that of the plural in the preterit of strong verbs is kept in *H*: pl. *H ȝeue* 27; *H P to-breke* 1633; *H P speke* 1634. The final *-n* of the infinitive, and of the pret. pl. of strong verbs is kept in many cases, notably in rime: Inf. *H P done* 16, 754, *H gadern* 238, *H P gon* *397, *1084, *1684, *2061, &c. The final *-n* of the pret. partic. is in most cases dropped; *H P ydon* *1541 is exceptional.

suggest narrower limits by comparison with documents of established provenience. The results are submitted chiefly as showing the type of modifications undergone in the course of a century and a half by an originally South-western text.

The accompanying table of dialect tests has been compiled from those defined by Morsbach[18] and Kaluza.[19] These tests have been applied to each MS. under consideration. The following conventions have been employed in recording the results of the tests: line numbers refer to the text as printed, and an asterisk indicates a rime-word.

TABLE OF DIALECTAL VARIATIONS

PHONOLOGY.

O.E.	W.M.	E.M.	S.W.	Mid.S.	S.E.
(1) *ă* before single nasal[20]	o (a)	a (o)	a	a, o	a
(2) *ǣ*[21]	a	a	a	a (e)	a, e
(3) *ā* before *r* in verbs and adverbs[22]	N.M.O. S.M.E.	e (a)	e (a)	e (a)	e (a)
(4) *a, ea* before *ld*[23]	o	o	o (e)	o (e)	e
(5) *u, ū, y, ȳ* (other sounds by analogy)[24]	i ⌄ i (e)	u ⌄ i (e)	u (i)	u	e (u)
(6) Vowel in unaccented final syllables[25]	u (i)	e (i)	e	e	e

[18] *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, Halle, 1896.

[19] *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1900.

[20] Cf. Morsbach, § 7 (Anm.), § 88; Kaluza, 207. These authorities are not fully in agreement. According to Morsbach, *a* is regular in E.M., *o* more frequent in W.M., *a* in S.W. and S.E., variation in Mid.S.; according to Kaluza, *o* is frequent in the W.M. and the South with the exception of Kent. (In the case of *a* before a lengthening consonant group, different results appear; this test has not been applied in the present discussion.)

[21] Cf. Morsbach, § 95; Kaluza, § 208.

[22] Cf. Morsbach, § 7 A 5; Kaluza, § 204 (3).

[23] Cf. Kaluza, § 209 c.

[24] Cf. Morsbach, §§ 127–33; Kaluza, 226 a, 227 a. Here, again, is some conflict; according to Morsbach, Midl. has regularly *i* (*y*) with sporadic *e* (especially after the thirteenth century), S.E. *e*, with occasional variation between *e* and *i* (*y*), S.W. and Mid.S. regularly *u*, with occasional *i* and *e* before certain consonant groups; according to Kaluza, O.E. *ȳ* becomes in S.W. *u*, in S.E. *e*, in Midl. *i*, but O.E. *ȳ* becomes S.W. *u, ui*, S.E. *e*, Midl. *i*.

[25] Cf. Morsbach, § 7, Anm.; he does not regard the distinction as absolute. According to Skeat (*English Dialects*, p. 80) *u* in unaccented final

	O.E.	W.M.	E.M.	S.W.	Mid.S.	S.E.
(7)	*hw* (initial)[26] . . .	wh	wh	wh (w)	w (wh)	w
(8)	*f* (initial)[27] . . .	f	f	f, v	f, v	v (f)

MORPHOLOGY.

(9)	Pronouns[28]		
	3 sf.	ȝho, ȝhe, scho, sche	heo, he ; hire ; hure
	3 pl.	þei, her, hem	hi, here, hem
(10)	Ending of indic. pres.		
	3 pl.[29]	-en, -e	-eþ
(11)	Derivative suffix *-l* of 2 wk. conj.[30] . . .	Lost	Preserved
(12)	Prefix *ge*[31]	Lost (preserved)	Preserved
(13)	Ending of pres. participle[32]	ende (ande) ∨ ∨ inge inge	inde ∨ inge

The Dialect of the Several MSS.

H

Herefordshire may be suggested as the probable home of this text. The language is in general South-western, with

syllables is a peculiarity of W.Midl., but inasmuch as Skeat includes under 'West Midland' the northern part of Gloucestershire (cf. *E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. I, xli) his opinion is not in conflict with that of the authorities quoted.

[26] Cf. Kaluza, §§ 204 (8), and 271 d. It may be added that *wh* (or *hw*) occurs in *Caiaphas* (ed. Carleton Brown, *Kittredge Anniv. Papers*, pp. 105–10), *w* with occasional *wh* in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, and *w* in the *Ayenbite*.

[27] Kaluza, § 210 (10), regards the voicing of *f* and *s* in initial position as characteristically Kentish ; Morsbach, with greater accuracy, observes that voiced initial *f* is frequent throughout the South. Carleton Brown has noted the frequent occurrence of voiced *f* in *Caiaphas* and the Gloucester *Chronicle*, and commented on its appearance in older Southern texts as the *Ancren Riwle* and the *Owl and the Nightingale* (*op. cit.*, p. 112).

[28] Cf. Kaluza, § 204 (14) ; also Diehn, *Frühmittelenglische Pronomina*, Heidelberg dissertation, 1901 (also in *Kieler Studien*, vol. i).

[29] Cf. Morsbach, § 7 B 1, 9 a B 1, 9 b B 1 ; Kaluza, § 204 (20).

[30] Cf. Morsbach, § 7 B 4, 9 a B 4, 9 b B 4 ; Kaluza, § 204 (16).

[31] Cf. Morsbach, § 7 A 18, 9 a A 18, 9 b A 18 ; Kaluza, § 204 (19).

[32] Cf. Morsbach, § 7 B 3, 9 a B 3, 9 b B 3 ; Kaluza, § 204 (22). Again some conflict is to be noted. According to Morsbach, the Midl. has regularly the ending *-end(e)*, seldom *-and(e)*, later *-inge* ; the S.W. and Mid.S. *-inde* (rarely *-ende*), later *-inge* ; Kent invariably *-inde*. According to Kaluza, the Midl. in general has *-ende*, later *-inge*, the S. *inde*, later *-inge*.

a stronger Midland shading than the early MSS. of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*. Further, *H* has several characteristics in common with the English lyrics in MS. Phillipps 8336, which are in the hand of the author, Friar William Herebert of Hereford,[33] and with MS. Harl. 2253, which was written apparently at Leominster Priory.[34] Certain of these forms are shared also with the poem *Caiaphas*, which Carleton Brown has located, on other than linguistic evidence, at Wells;[35] but the affinities of *H* with the Herefordshire documents are on the whole more striking. Especially to be noted are several instances in *H* of *oe* as the representative of O. E. *ēo* : *moek* 57, *loeue* *1927 (riming with *greue*), *locuc* 2151, *þoefþe* 1966, *boeþ* 2029, *soeþ* 2095, *fourtoeþe* 2369. (There is one instance of *o* : *bo* *465, inf., riming with *mo*.) Friar Herebert's MS. shows numerous forms in *eo*, representing both *eo* and *ēo*.[36] *Caiaphas* has several instances of *oe*, representing (as Carleton Brown has noted) only *ēo*.[37] Again, the form *wordle*, which is characteristic of *H*, is of frequent occurrence in Phillipps 8336.[38] A less precise parallel, but one not without suggestion, may be noted between the numerous instances of *u* for *eo* in *H*; *durchede* 1543, *hurte* 1597, *hurte* : *smurte* *1583–4, &c., and of *ue* for *eo* in MS. Harl. 2253.

Together with the following notes on the language of *H*, I have recorded for comparison notes on corresponding forms in the *Chronicle* of Robert of Gloucester. The conventions used in referring to MSS. of the *Chronicle* are those employed by Wright in his glossary.

[33] Cf. Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1924), pp. xiii–xiv.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. xiii; cf. Thos. Wright, *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, Percy Soc. iv, pp. vi–vii.

[35] *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 114–17.

[36] *Hoeuene* 21 : 16, *boeth* 21 : 21, *moeke* 22 : 7, *hoennes* 23 : 30, &c. (Citations are from texts as printed and numbered in *Religious Lyrics*.)

[37] *Kittredge Anniv. Papers*, pp. 113–14; instances are here noted of the occurrence of the form in MS. Digby 86, also in the *Owl and the Nightingale* Cf. also forms in MS. Emmanuel Coll. 27, which is probably from Chichester (James, *Catalogue*).

[38] *Rel. Lyrics*, 20 : 5, 20 : 22, 21 : 7, &c.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *a* before a single nasal > *a*, *e*: *fram* 96, &c.; *man* 17, 1598. &c.; *an* (prep.) 180, 1576, &c.; *meni* 40, 1553, &c.; *eni* 51, 52, &c. *Chron.* has regularly *mon*, *moni*, *eni*.

2. O.E. *æ* > *a*: *þat* 3, 10, &c.; *hadde* 18, 59, &c. *Chron.* has *þat*, *A* and *B* texts; *þet*, *B* text only.

3. O.E. *ā* before *r* > *er*, *ar*, never *or*: *þer* 2, 4, &c.; *ber* 26, &c.; *wharto* 23; *owhar* 1519. *Chron.* has *ar* A-text, *er* *A* and *B* (*or* in *β*).

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* > *o*: *solde* 22, 34; *tolde* 1804, 1898, 2079. Exception *yseld* *23 (riming with *ideld*). *Chron.* has *itold*, *tolde*.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, > usually *u*: *ibured* 39; *hul* 47; *buggeþ* 570; *brudale* 286. *U* is regular in the rimes: *brude* *2462 (riming with *Iude*); *cunde–munde* 1563–64. In certain words *i* is invariable: *siþþe* 22, 83, &c.; *silf*, *silue* 26, 304, &c.; *which* 1524, &c.; *clipeþ* 135, 1542, &c. *Chron.* has fewer forms with *i*: *kunne*, *sulue*, *wuch*, *clupie*, &c., are regular in *A* and *B* (with occasional *selue*, *clepe*, in B). Texts of the later recension only show *kyn* and compounds.

6. The vowel in unaccented final syllables is invariably *e*. *Chron.* has *o* in comparatives and superlatives: *gladdore*, *eldoste*, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > invariably *wh*: *whan* 515, 1550, &c.; *which* 1524, &c. *Chron.* has regularly *w*: *wo*, *wuche*, *wy*, &c.

8. O.E. initial *f* is not voiced except in the following cases: *vyue* 549, 557; *vif* 550, 558, *vyf* 1757 (but *fyue* 1652). In *Chron.* initial *v* preponderates; it is replaced by *f* in texts of the later recension.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are as follows: 3 sf. *heo* 9, 1552, &c., *hire* (poss.) 9, 1554, &c., *hire* (acc.) 39, 1518, &c.; 3 pl. *hi* 62, 545. 1503, &c., *here* 64, 547, &c., *hem* 549, &c. *Chron.* has 3 sf. *he* (*heo*), *hire*, *hire*; 3 pl. *hii* (*hi*), *hor* (*her*, *here*, with *heor*, *heore*, in B-text only), *hom* (*him*, *hem*).

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*. *Chron.* also

has invariably *eþ*. *Schulleþ* (by analogy) is more frequent than *schulle* in *H*.

11. The retention of the suffix *-i* in the infinitive of verbs of the second weak conjugation (and of others by analogy) is usual: *saui* 186, *serui* 195, *þolie* 201, &c. This usage is regular also in *Chron.*

12. The prefix *i-* (*y-*) for older *ge-* is regular: *iheld* 18; *ymaked* 23; *ihure* 1599, &c.

This is the usage of the *Chron.*

13. The verbal noun suffix *-inge* has entirely replaced the true participial *-inde*.

Chron. has both forms for the participle: *glosinde* 10, 218, *vastinde* 11, 322; but *vastinge* 8645.

P

This MS. is South-western, with Midland shading notably in forms replacing O.E. *u*. It appears to have been copied from a text less influenced by Midland dialect (cf. no. 7). *P* has in common with *H* the dialectal form *wordle* 137, 212, 398, 1064, &c. (but *world* 373, 1029, 1030).

There are no instances of *oe* as the representative of older *eo*. *Oe* is invariably written for *ō* in *goed* (= *bonus*): 37, 166, 174, &c.; riming with *flode* *483, *mod* *632.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a single nasal > *a*, *o*, rarely *e*: *man* 1047, &c.; *ffram* 1087, &c.; *an* (prep.) 1080, 1576, &c., beside *on* 1648, 1674, &c.; *whan* (pron.) 1045, &c.; *mony* 27, 341, &c. *E* stands regularly in *eny* 51, &c.

2. O.E. *ăe* > *a*: *þat* 1046, &c.; *hadde* 1062, &c.

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* in verbs and adverbs > *er* regularly in rime words, elsewhere *er*, *ar*: *þer* 4, 5, *869, 1192, &c.; *er* 216, *287, *1189, 1324, &c.; *ar* 55, 482, 498, 622, &c.; *wharso* 804.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* gives regularly *o*: *solde* 34, 360, *779 (riming with *tolde*); *ysold* 793. Exception *seld* *23 (riming with *ydeld*).

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ* gives regularly *u*: so invariably in *muche*,

luþer, ȝut, dude, lutel, whuch, suþþe. *Y* occurs sometimes before a palatal or nasal: *byggeres* 110; *wyke* 135, 136; *kynde* 463, 471, 472, 481, beside *kunde* 1048, 1474, *kunde-munde* *1563–64. *E* occurs in *smerede* 7, 11, &c.; *selue* 1380 (beside *sulf* 26, *sulue* 304) and regularly in *eche, echon.*

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is regularly *e*, with *o* occasionally in the comparative and superlative of adjectives: *strengoste* 1439; *hardore* 1598; *vylore* 1676 (cf. *Chron.*).

7. O.E. *hw* gives regularly *wh.* Exceptions *wanne* 157, *wuche* (pron.) 1420; *wucche* (n.) 164. The auxiliary *wole* is in one instance written *whole*—a slip which suggests that a scribe accustomed to the Midland *wh* was copying a text written farther to the South; Midland influence is apparent also in *whanhope* 1410, *whit* 660, *whittes* 664, *ynwhit* 1954.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are Southern: 3 sf. *ȝeo* 7, 37, 173, &c.; *hure* (poss.) 9, 73, &c.; *hure* (acc.) 194, 1270, &c.; 3 pl. *hi* 61, 72, &c.; *hare* 64, 104, *ham* 5, 52, &c. (beside *hem* 232, 1294). The pronouns in general resemble those found in the *Ancren Riwle.*

10. The ending of the pres. indic. pl. of verbs is invariably *-eþ.*

11. The derivative suffix *-i* (*-y*) of verbs of the second weak conjugation is usually kept: *sauy* 186, *wytie* 194, *þolye* 1120, *helye* 1447, but *hele* *30 (riming with *stele*). Romance verbs follow the same general usage: *conforti* 1072, *deliuery* 1317, 1345, 1346, 1367 (but *deliuere* 1362).

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept as *i-* or *y-.*

13. The ending of the present participle is invariably *-ing, -yng.*

K

K is to be associated with *P* on the score of dialect as well as of content and crucial readings.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > regularly *a*: *whanne* 86, &c.; *mani* 397, &c., *fram* 796, 798 (beside *from* 96).

2. O.E. *ăe* > regularly *a*: *hadde* 18, 60, &c.; *þat* 20, &c.

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* gives *a*, *e*, never *o*: *whare* 800, *wharso* 804; *ar* 35, 848, &c.; *þere–bere* *25–26; *þer-of* 28, &c.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* gives regularly *o*: *solde* 22, *isold* *23 (riming with *ydeld* 24), 34, 360, 843.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, gives usually *u*, occasionally *i*, *y*: *suþþe* 9, 22, &c.; *muche* 16, 32, &c.; *sulf* 26, &c.; *lute–prute* *907–8 (but *lite* 583, *litel* 633); *kunde–munde* *1563–4 (but *kynde* 1547, 1560). *I* (*y*) is regular in certain words: *nywe* 845, &c.; *triwe* 638, &c. There are a few instances of *e*: *smerde* 11; *yclepid* 340; *kende* 1048.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is usually *e*, but sometimes *i*: *prechiþ* 370; *yclepid* 340; *clepiþ* 341; *bisshopis* 1128.

7. O.E. *hw* gives regularly *wh*. Exceptions are rare: *war-to* 23, *wyle* 597. Especially to be noted are instances of *wh* for *w*: *whanhope* 1138; *whas* (vb.) 1170; *who* (for *wo*) 821.

8. Initial *f* is not voiced except in the following cases: *vif* 613, 616, 624, 627 (but *fiue* 617, 623, 628).

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are Southern: 3 sf. *heo* 9, &c.; *hure* (poss.) 9, *hire* (poss.) 1513; *hire* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl. *hi* 61, &c.; *hare* 64, 861, &c.; *ham* 1193, 1496, &c.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is usually kept: *keueri* 33, *witie* 194, &c. (but *wite* 39).

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept.

13. The pres. participle ends in *-inge*.

E

The dialect of this MS. resembles that of the A-text of Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* more closely than does any other text of the *Southern Passion*. Similarities are especially to be noted

in the treatment of O.E. *hw*, the voicing of initial *f*, and the pronouns. The writing of *ss* for *sh* or *sch* is also characteristic of both.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > *a*, *o*: *man* 17, 786, &c.; *an* (prep.) 1080 (but *on* 1418, *oppon* 1422); *wan* (pron.) 1133, 1420, &c.; *wam* 1140; *mony* 1498, 1553, &c.

2. O.E. *ăe* > *a*: *þat* 3, 673, &c.; *hadde* 70, &c.; *was* 11, 8^{7}, &c.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* gives *e*, *a*: *þer* 25, 1344, &c.; *þer* 26, *bere* 1454; *er* 1434, 1576, &c.; *ar* 923, 1111, 1324, &c.; *þare* 1145, 1343, &c.

4. O.E. *ea* before *ld* > *o*: *solde* 34, *isold* 793.

5. O.E. *ŭ*, *ū*, *ў*, *ȳ*, gives usually *u*: *fuld* 10; *ysmured* 19; *luþer* 786, 1533, &c.; *kunde-munde* *1563–4; *I* (*y*) is regular in certain words: *lite* 1139, &c.; *triwe* 826, &c. There is a sprinkling of forms in *e*: *weste* 795 (beside *wuste* 1135, *nuste* 1561); *ihere* 1597 (beside *ihure* 1583, 1589). Irregular forms are *weoste* 1124; *feorste* 1210, 1476.[39]

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is regularly *e*. There are a few plurals in *is*: *lanternis*, *brondis*, 1129; *giwis* 1142, 1169, &c. *O* occurs in the comparative and superlative of adjectives: *vilor* 1676, *strengoste* 1429, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* gives invariably *w*.

8. Initial *f* before a vowel, and *f* between vowels, is regularly voiced. Exceptions *ffor* 26, &c.; *feorste* 1476; *fel* 1650, 1653; *fondynge* 1094, *fond* 1099, 1117. Initial *f* followed by a consonant is not voiced.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns: 3 sf. *heo* 1517, &c., *hure* 1513, 1517, &c., *hure* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl., *hy* 759, 1467, &c. (*hi* 769, 1480, &c.), *hore* 763, 1606 (*hare* 768, &c.), *hom* 796, 812 (*ham* 826, 1083).

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*.

[39] *Feorste* also in Layamon's *Brut* (ed. Sir Frederick Madden, 1847), 4506, 12242 (MS. Cotton Calig. A ix); *cheorches* (MS. Cott. Otho C. xiii).

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is regularly kept. Exception: *wite* 1710, 1715.

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept as *y-*. Exception: *sold* *23.

13. The ending of the pres. participle is invariably *-ynge* (*-inge*).

V

The language of *Alexis* in this MS. has been discussed in detail by Horstmann [40] and by Schipper.[41] Inasmuch, however, as this version of *Alexis* is a poem of northern origin not indigenous to the *Legendary*, the character of the language is naturally different from that of the *Passion* in the same MS. The latter poem has no Northern shading, though it contains some Midland forms.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > *o*, *e*: *mon* 17, 59, &c.; *monne* *678, *mony* 27, 40; *whon* 86, *þonne* *677 (beside *þenne* 681). *eny* 1306, 1465.

2. O.E. *ae* > *a*, *e*: *þat* 14, 39, 104, &c.; *hedde* 18, 67, &c.; *hedde–ledde* *1403–04.

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* gives regularly *e*: *þere* *16, *þer* *25, *er* 137, &c. *Were* is regular in rimes, *weore* within the line.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* gives invariably *o*: *sold* *23 (riming with *idalt*); *solde* 34; *tolde* 605.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, give rise to a variety of forms. *U* is frequent: *ifuld* 10, *luþere* 104, &c., *sulleres*, *buggeres* 110, *kun* 423, *sunne* 452. *Uy* occurs in at least an equal number of cases: *kuynde* 471; *kuynde–muynde* *1563–4; *pruyte–luyte* *907–8 (but *proute–oute* *593–4). *E* is regular in *self* and compounds; *clepe* and derivatives; *i* occurs in *chirche* 15 (but *churche* 548) and *siþþen* 83, 584 (but *seþþen* 234).

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is frequently *u*: so regularly in the inflectional ending of the genitive; *lordus* 6, *godus* 126, *worldus* 211, and occasionally in the nominative plural, *cloþus* 64, *wordus* 470. *U* occurs also in *oþur* 75, &c.

[40] Herrig's *Archiv*, lvi, 393–4.

[41] *Quellen u. Forschungen*, xx, 20–65.

(but *oþer* 336), *fadur* 160, &c. (but *fader* 1478), *aftur* 776, &c., *undur* 156, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* gives *wh*, which is in some cases smoothed to *h*: so *hose* 94 and regularly.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are mixed Midland and Southern: 3 sf. *heo* 9, *hire* (poss.) 9, *hire* (acc.) 39; 3 pl. *þei* 386 (*þey* 1804), *heore* 1200, *hem* 1146.

10. The ending of the pres. indic. pl. is regularly *-eþ*. Exceptions: *wite* 4, *biseche* 77, *sechen* 1831.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* of the second weak conjugation is in no instance retained.

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly kept as *i-* (*y-*). Exceptions: *buried* 39, *out-cast* 212, *do* *1021.

13. The participial ending *-inde* is retained in certain instances: *sittinde* 58, *slepinde* 518, *rennynde* 1122 (but *soukynge* 123, *wepynge* 1256). The ending *-inde* is found in no other MS. of the *Passion*.

B

This MS. appears to be generally South-western in character, although, as is to be expected in a late and composite MS. of the *South English Legendary*, it exhibits some confusion of dialectal forms. The characteristic writing of *ch* for *sch* (*chelle* 774. *chewe* 831, *chrewe* 779, *chame* 1494, &c.) resembles the usage in *William of Palerne*, which Skeat inclined to place in northern Gloucestershire.[42] The complete form of the possessive (*Iudas his herte* 873, *lord his cloþis* 1502, &c.) is frequent in South-western texts after 1400.[43] *E* frequently occurs as representative of older *i* especially in verb forms (cf. no. 5 below).

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ā* before a nasal > *a*, *o*, rarely *e*: *whan* 758, 1296, &c.; *þanne* 769, *þan* 792 (but *þen* 759); *man* 802 (but *mon* 293); *an*

[42] *E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. I, xli.

[43] Cf. *New English Dictionary*, under *his* (4).

(prep.) 1041, 1080 (but *on* 751, 785); *mony* 1108, &c.; *eny* 1035, &c.

2. O.E. *ăe* gives regularly *a*.

3. O.E. *āe* before *r* gives *a, e*: *wharby* 1006, *whar* 1111, *where* 1109, *er-þer* *1189–90.

4. O.E. *a, ea* before *ld* > *o*: *isold* 793, 836, 843; *sold* 1394; *solde-tolde* *779–80. Exception: *seld* 1404.

5. O.E. *u, ū, y, ȳ*, give rise to forms in *u, y* (*i*), *e*, for which it is impossible to find a consistent governing principle. These forms are as confused in the lines which are presumably scribal additions as in the remainder of the MS. We find *ȝut* 756, 1978 f, but *ȝit* 1491, 1957 a, e; *sulf* 76, *sulue* 1483, beside *self* 1473; *gulty* 1489, *gult* 1957 q, beside *gilt* 1972 e, 1982 p. *U* remains in the rimes *kunde-munde* *1563–4, but cf. *kynde* 1547, 1957 a, and *kende* 1962 b. *E* is regular in *cleped* 762 &c., *leþer* 785 &c., and in certain verb-forms: *wete* 749, *iwete* (riming with *iwryte*) *819, *neme* 765, &c., *nemeþ* 842, &c.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is frequently *i* (*y*): *wordis* 805, *disciplis* 807, *fadir* 849, *lastyþ* 853, *axid* 780, *bestis* 1957 k (but *bestes* 1957 b), *þedir* 1957 p, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh* invariably.

8. Initial *f* occurs voiced and unvoiced: *uolle* 753, *vaste* *763, *1503, but *faste* *880; *vet* 886, 1530, but *fet* 880, 890; *fondyng, valle*, 1094.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns: 3 sf. *ȝhe* 1514, *here* (poss.) 1513, *here* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl. *hy* 759, *here* 759, *hem* 773.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-eþ*. Exception: *seche* *1148.

11. The suffix *-i* (*y*) is as a rule not retained. Exceptions: *louye* 980, 1003; *þolye* 1110.

12. The prefix *ge-* is regularly retained.

13. The pres. participle ends invariably in *-ynge, -inge*.

Ty

The dialect of *Alexis*, an originally Southern poem, in this MS. has been discussed by Horstmann [44] with results not notably different from those exhibited below. *Ty* is a South-western text showing Midland influence (cf. nos. 5, 6, below). Two instances occur of *ch* (characteristic of *B*) for *sch* : *chere-þorsday* 1066, 1067.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > *a*, *o* (*e*): *an* 1080, *anhonyed* 1430; *on* 1450, *onhonged* 1675; *eny* 1465, &c.

2. O.E. *ae* > regularly *a*.

3. O.E. *ā̆ē̆* before *r* > *e* (*a*): *er* 923, 1189, &c.; *wher* 804, 1589, &c.; *ar* 1414.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea* before *ld* > *o*: *ysold–told* *23–4.

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, give usually *e*, infrequently *i* or *u*: *cherche* 2302, *þreft* 1295, *helles* 1447, 1449 (but *hulle* 1079), *geltles* 1377, 1489, *gelty* 1489 (but *gult* 1341), *wetye* 1368; *lyte* 1139, &c., *synne* 1364, 1409, &c. (but *yscnned* 1389), *kynde–mynde* *1563–4 (but *kende* 1547, 1557), *which* 1598 (but *whuch* 1738); *luþer* 86, 826, &c. (but *leþer* 785), *ȝut* 1465, &c., *such* 1524, &c., *dude* 1364, &c., *stude* 1748 (but *stede* 809).

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is usually *e*, but *u* occurs frequently in inflectional endings of verbs, *i* in inflectional endings of nouns: *wakuþ* 1118, *slcpuþ* 1118, 1119, *amendude* 1262, *clepude* 1324, *yclepud* 1258, *clepuþ* 1578; *godis* 1358, 1482, *wordis* 1468, *swerdis* 1158 (but *staues* in same line), *boffattis* 1528, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh*.

8. O.E. initial *f* is not voiced.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns: 3 sf. *hy* 9, 1514, &c., *here* (poss.) 1513, 1517, &c. (*hire* 10, *hure* 1508), *here* (acc.) 1269 (*hire* 1518, *hure* 1454); 3 pl. *hy* 1699, 1702, &c. (*þeȝ* 1626, 1819), *hare* 1724, 1792, &c., *hem* 1703, 1705, &c.

[44] *Archiv*, lvi. 402–3.

10. The ending of the pres. indic. pl. is invariably *-eþ*.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* in verbs of the second weak conjugation (others by analogy) is regularly kept. Exceptions: *delyuere* 1345, *close* 1581.

12. The prefix *ge-* in forms of the verb is regularly kept, but there are several exceptions: *do* *1087, *1098, *1527, *told* *24, *went* 1895.

13. The present participle ends regularly in *-inge*.

T

This MS. marks the northern limit of the region to which extant texts of the *Southern Passion* belong. The results of virtually all the tests, as listed below, suggest a Midland provenience, and certain forms look toward the north. That *T* was copied from a MS. written farther to the south is suggested by a scribal correction in v. 852. *P* reads, *ar he were in his ffader ore*; *T* has, *or he wiþ his fadir wore.*

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > *a, o*: *man*, 17, 51, &c., *manye* 27, 40, &c., *whan* 130, 856; *ony* 51, 52, 1614, &c., *hom* (interrog. pron.) 1147.

2. O.E. *ăe* > regularly *a*.

3. O.E. *ā̆e* before *r* > regularly *e*, but instances occur of the Northern *ō*: *or* 796, 852, *wore* *852.

4. O.E. *a, ea,* before *-ld* > regularly *o*: *solde* 22, 34, *soldetolde* *779–780. Exception: *seld* *23 (riming with *deld*).

5. O.E. *ŭ, ū, y̆, ȳ,* give almost invariably *i, y,* both in rimes and within the line: *kynde–mynde* *1563-4, *prite–lite* *907–08, *sinne* 452, &c., *ifilde* 10, &c. Examples of *u* are rare: *hulle* 150 (but *hil* 71, 1079), *hured* 236 (but *hire* 252). *E* is regular in *meche* 16, 25, &c., in *euyl* 18, 595, &c., in *selue* 26, 449, &c.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is almost invariably *i*: *anoyntid* 6, *wipid* 8, *makiþ* 13, &c. Exceptions: *comeþ* 15, *penes* 24, 775.

7. O.E. *hw* > invariably *wh*.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are mixed Midland and Southern: 3 sf. *sche* 9, 174, &c.: *hire* (poss.) 1517, 1518 (*hir* 9), *hire* (acc.) 1518, 1898; 3 pl. *þei* 85, 1351, &c., *here* 325, 1386, &c., *hem* 246, 1552, &c.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-e*, *-en* (*-in*): *slepe* 1119, *seke* 1119, 1148, *here* 1574; *makin* 113, *wiln* 798, 826, &c.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is invariably lacking.

12. The prefix *ge-* has as a rule been dropped. Exceptions: *ifilde* 10, *ido* 20, 37, *igrede* 80, *imoued* 106, &c.

13. The present participle ends regularly in *-inge*.

L

The dialect of *Àlexis* (Southern version) in this MS. also has been discussed by Horstmann.[45] As in the case of *Ty*, results yielded by *Alexis* hold in great part for the *Passion*. The language in both instances is generally Midland with some Southern usages retained and some influence from the North apparent.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > *a*, *o*: *þanne* 827, *whan* 919, 1223, &c., *wham* 1140 (but *whom* 1147); *on* (prep.) 1080, 1378, &c.

2. O.E. *æ* > regularly *a*: *hadde* 1199, 1204, &c. (*Alexis* has one instance of *hedde*).

3. O.E. *ǣ* before *r* > usually *e*, sometimes *a*, occasionally the Northern *o*: *þer* 2, *25, &c. (but *þar* 3), *where* 804 (but *whare* 1606), *er* 1394 (but *ar* 796); *or* 923.

4. O.E. *a*, *ea*, before *ld* > regularly *o*: *sold* 22, 34, *solde–tolde* *779–80. Exception: *seld* *23 (riming with *deld*).

5. O.E. *u*, *ū*, *y*, *ȳ*, > usually *i*, *y*, frequently *e* (as in *Alexis*). Forms in *u* appear in larger proportion, however, than in *Alexis*: *yfuld* 10, *much* 25, *luþer* 786, 1399, &c., *suweþ* 803, &c.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is invariably *e* (as in *Alexis*).

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh*.

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

[45] *Archiv*, lvi. 402–3.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are mixed: 3 sf. *heo* 9 (*she* 1853, *sheo* 1855), *hire* (poss.) 1515, 1518 (*her* 9), *hire* (acc.) 1518, 1855, &c.; 3 pl. *þei* 812, 1289, *here* 815, 1286, *hem* 826, 1812, &c.

10. The pres. indic. pl. ends regularly in *-e*, rarely *-en* or *eþ*: *slepe* 1119, *seke* 1119, *haue* 1357; *corsen* 1471; *naueþ* 1375.

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is invariably lacking. (*Alexis* has one instance of retention.)

12. The prefix *ge-* has in most cases fallen (as in *Alexis*). Exceptions: *yfuld* 10, *ȝsinged* 1389, *idempd* 1430, &c.

13. The present participle ends regularly in *-inge*.

A

The language of this MS. approximates English of the modern period more closely than does any other of the texts considered. There are virtually no instances of the double negative, and very few of contractions compounded of *ne* + auxiliary. Masculine and feminine pronouns, used with reference to inanimate objects, are in every case replaced by *it*; instead of *myd, ac, þo*, appear *with, but, then* (*when*); forms of *nimen* are replaced by corresponding forms of *taken*, except in rimes; the words *luþer, hoker*, are not found.

The dialect of the *Evangelie* in this MS. was examined by Dr. Gertrude Campbell, who describes the text as 'South Midland, from a region further south than the home of the original'.[46] Her results agree only in part with those offered by the *Passion*, the original home of which was certainly farther south than the region where *A* was written. Specially significant is the rime *Iude–bride* 2461–2.

(*Phonology.*)

1. O.E. *ă* before a nasal > *a*, (*o, e*): *þan* 761, 769, &c., *wham* 1140, 1147, *man* 1621, *many* 1627; *on* (prep.) 1080, &c., *onone* 1084, &c.; *when* 810, 1646, &c.

2. O.E. *ăe* > *a*.

3. O.E. *ā ē* before *r* > invariably *e*: *þere* *25, *909, *er* *910, 1324, &c.

[46] *P.M.L.A.*, xxx 529–613.

4. O.E. *a, ea* before *-ld* > *o*: *solde* 22, 34, *solde–tolde* *779–80. Exception: *selde* *23 (riming with *deld*).

5. O.E. *u, ū, y, ȳ* > *y, i,* seldom *e,* never *u*: *myche* 16, 1349, &c., *syluyr* 32, *iche* 816, 1304, &c., *kisse* 911, *kyn* 1351; *smered* 11, 19, *cleped* 772, 1258, &c., *self* 824, 1326, *trewe* 826.

6. The vowel of unaccented final syllables is usually *i* (*y*), where the *Evangelie* has *u*: *makith* 13, 1290, *maistir* 762, *childir* 798, *delyuyr* 1317 (but *delyuered* 1350), *herkyn* 1328, &c.

7. O.E. *hw* > *wh.*

8. Initial *f* is never voiced.

(*Morphology.*)

9. Pronouns are mixed Midland and Southern: 3 sf. *she* 9, *hir* (poss.) 9, 1513, *hir* (acc.) 1518; 3 pl. *þei* 1471, *her* 1471, 1720 (but *þeire* 767; not found in the *Evangelie*), *hem* 1473, 1716.

10. The pres. indic. 3 pl. ends regularly in *e*: *slepe* 1119, *seke* 1119, *seche* 1148, *haue* 1322. *Eþ* is the rule in the *Evangelie.*

11. The derivative suffix *-i* is invariably lacking.

12. The prefix *ge-* is in no instance retained.

13. The pres. participle ends invariably in *-inge.*

CHAPTER IV

THE SOURCES OF THE *SOUTHERN PASSION*

The interest of the *Southern Passion* from the point of view of sources lies in its comprehensive character and early date. The poem incorporates material from the Scriptures and from patristic writings at a period when this material had not yet become diffused and conventionalized in the vernacular; thus it illustrates a primary stage of the process through which the spirit and substance of medieval theology were transfused into the popular literature of devotion.

The works which supplied the author of the *Southern Passion* with the bulk of his material were two, the Vulgate and the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor. These sources, from which material was directly transferred, were supplemented by others drawn upon apparently from memory. Among these may be included almost with certainty sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugo of St. Victor; somewhat less certainly, treatises of Leo the Great, Abbé Robert of Tuy, and others. It is of course often impossible to determine whether the author had in mind an early authority such as Augustine or Jerome, or one of the later intermediaries through which their opinions passed into theological commonplace.

Resemblances with the *Legenda Aurea* compiled by Jacobus de Voragine are noted frequently in the following pages, but this work has not been cited as a source. In the first place, the resemblances are in virtually all cases duplicated in earlier works, especially in the *Historia Scholastica*, which we know to have been used by the author of the *Legenda Aurea*.[1] Moreover, although in its original form the *Legenda* probably antedated the *South English Legendary*, it appears to have been

[1] Cf. n. 20 below. Horstmann rejected the possibility that the *Legenda Aurea* served as a source for the *South English Legendary* (cf. *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, p. xlv).

a work which passed through several stages of revision, and grew by accretions;[2] hence we cannot be certain what portion of the work in the form in which we now have it might have been accessible to the author of the *Legendary*. It offers, of course, a striking analogue in general plan, and may indeed have inspired the compilation of the English work.

Of special significance to the question of patristic influence on medieval poetry are the correspondences relating the *Southern Passion* to the *Lignum Vitae* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—the first an authentic work of St. Bonaventura, the second a widely known treatise formerly attributed to him, but excluded from the canon by modern critics.[3] Both these works appear to have left characteristic impress upon the subject-matter of the poem; and the *Meditationes* further appears to have suggested the general lines on which the *Southern Passion* was composed.

Modern critical discussions of the authorship of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* would appear to interpose a serious chronological difficulty to regarding this treatise as a source for the *Southern Passion*. For Joannes de Caulibus, the author to whom the *Meditationes* is assigned by Peltier and other authorities,[4]

[2] Cf. Pierce Butler, *Legenda Aurea* (Johns Hopkins dissertation), Baltimore, 1899, p. 6.

[3] Sbaralea objected to the attribution of the *Meditationes* to St. Bonaventura on the ground of its barbarous Latin and crudities of style (*Supplementum ad Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*, 1806, p. 143). Peltier re-emphasized these objections, citing further ones which he regarded as warranting the exclusion of this treatise from the Bonaventura canon (ed. *Opera*, Paris, 1856-64, xii. xli–xliv; text of the *Meditationes* under *Spuria*, xiii. 510–630). The *Meditationes* was rejected by the editors of the Quaracchi edition (1882–1902), and was not printed by them. For criticism of this treatise, cf. x. 25; for table showing editions of Bonaventura's works which retain or reject the *Meditationes* (inter alia), i. xvi.

[4] Peltier accepted this attribution (which was apparently first suggested by Bonelli in his *Prodromus*) with thorough confidence. After citing the statement of Bartholomew of Pisa in regard to the Franciscan convent at San Gimignano in Tuscany, 'de quo extitit oriundus Fr. Joannes de Caulibus magnus Praedicator, et devotus, qui Meditationes super Evangelia fecit pulchras', he notes certain allusions in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* which indicate that the author was acquainted with the topography of Tuscany, and connects him with the convent of San Gimignano by emending 'S. Germani' to read 'S. Giminiani', in a passage defining the distance from Calvary to the city gate, 'quantum locus noster a porta sancti

belonged to the fourteenth instead of the thirteenth century—indeed the date given to him by Wadding is as late as 1376.[5] The vexed question of the authorship of the *Meditationes* is one which does not directly concern us, and which it is impossible here to consider in detail. But whoever may have been the author of the *Meditationes*, positive evidence exists that the treatise was written long before the time of Joannes de Caulibus, if the date commonly assigned to him is correct. In the first place, Trinity College, Cambridge MS. 293 contains a portion of the *Meditationes* 'quas scripsit Cardinalis Bonaventura' in a hand described by James in his catalogue as of the early fourteenth century.[6] Further, the work was known in England before the time of de Caulibus; witness the English translation in verse usually attributed to Robert of Brunne[7] which is assigned to the early fourteenth century,[8] irrespective of its possible connexion with him, on the ground of language.[9]

Germani' (cap. lxxvii). The editors of the Quaracchi edition accept the attribution to de Caulibus with reservations (*Opera S. Bonaventura*, x. 25), noting that in some MSS. the words which Bonelli regarded as warranting the attribution are wanting. They reject Oudinus's suggestion that the author of the *Meditationes* was Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua, a contemporary of Petrarch.

[5] *Annales Ordinis Minorum* (1783), viii. 333, under date 1376.

[6] Obviously this cannot refer to Bonaventura of Padua (1332–89), since he was not elevated to the cardinalate until 1378, long after this MS. was written. St. Bonaventura (1221–74) would naturally have been referred to as 'Cardinal' (he was, it will be remembered, made Cardinal-Bishop of Albano in 1273) until his canonization in 1482 (the dates are those given by Chevalier, *Bio-Biographie*).

[7] *Meditacions of the Soper of our Lord*, ed. J. M. Cowper, *E. E. T. S.* 60. The period of Robert of Brunne is fixed by his *Handlyng Synne*, 1303, and *Chronicle*, 1342. Herbert (*Cat. Romances*, iii. 306) regards the attribution of the *Meditacions* to Robert of Brunne as probable, although, following Peltier's theory as to the authorship of the *Med. Vitae Christi*, he is doubtful 'whether the original Latin can be referred to so early a date' as Robert of Brunne's.

[8] Since my dissertation was written, Miss Margaret Deanesly has independently pointed out the significance of this metrical translation in its bearing on the date of the *Meditationes* (*The Gospel Harmony of Joannes de Caulibus or St. Bonaventura*, British Society for Franciscan Studies, x. 14). She has also noted the existence of the early fourteenth-century MS. Trin. Coll. Cambr. 293 in this connexion (p. 18, n. 4).

[9] Wells, *Manual*, p. 358; cf. G. Hellmers, *Über die Sprache Robert Mannynges of Brunne*, Göttingen, 1885.

Some further confirmation is added by the statement of Dr. A. G. Little to the effect that the *Meditationes* was used by the author of the *Fasciculus Morum*, a work which he inclines to date about 1320.[10] Evidently, then, the *Meditationes* was a work of the thirteenth century, and we are justified in bringing it forward as an available source for the *Southern Passion*.

A. *The Vulgate.*

For those portions of the *Southern Passion* which are immediately concerned with the life of Jesus, the Vulgate has supplied the entire substance, and, to a large extent, the phrasing. The poet adheres consistently to the canonical facts in recording the acts and words of the chief personages of the story. Although he takes frequent liberties with the order of events as recorded in the Gospels, he does not at any point attribute apocryphal deeds or utterances to Jesus or Mary. The language of this portion of the poem has apparently been transferred directly from the open page of the Vulgate, since it corresponds as a rule, even in minute details, with the Latin text. When the poet combines in his version of a situation passages from two or more of the Evangelistic accounts, he alters the phrasing, as a rule, only in so far as the form of his transition demands; one can sometimes follow his procedure in joining a half-verse from one gospel to a second half-verse in another. An exception to his customary practice of literal translation is to be found in the story of the trial before Pilate and the crucifixion, where, while taking few liberties with the basic facts, the translator frequently departs from the letter of the Vulgate. Again, the account of Pentecost and subsequent acts of the apostles to the first martyrdom is a free rendering of the Vulgate. Here the necessity of rapidly generalizing a number of events in order to lead to a conclusion involved abridging very considerably the substance of several chapters. With these exceptions, the language of the poem, in so far as it is concerned with the material of the Vulgate, is, as has been said, a faithful rendering of the Latin of the source.

[10] *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917), p. 146.

Sources in the Vulgate.

Palm Sunday Eve: The Anointing of Jesus' Feet.

S. P.	Vulgate.
1-10	Joan. xii. 1-3
17-20	Matt. xxvi. 6; Marc. xiv. 3
21-22	Joan. xii. 4
23-24	Marc. xiv. 4b-5
25-26	Joan. xii. 6
36-38	Matt. xxvi. 10-11; Joan. xii. 8
39	Joan. xii. 7
40-44	Joan. xii. 9-11

Palm Sunday: The Entry into Jerusalem and the Cleansing of the Temple.

45-58	Matt. xxi. 1-5
61, 63-64	Matt. xxi. 6-7
73-78	Matt. xxi. 8-9
79-82	Luc. xix. 39-40
91-101	Luc. xix. 41-44
105-114	Luc. xix. 45-47a
115-126	Matt. xxi. 14-17

Monday: Acts and Discourses in Jerusalem.

139-155	Matt. xxi. 18-22
156	Marc. xi. 24
157-162	Marc. xi. 25-26
163-174	Marc. xii. 41-44
179-185 a	Joan. xii. 24-25 a
191-228	Joan. xii. 25 b-36

Tuesday: Parables and Discourse on Doomsday.

232-258	Matt. xxi. 33-42
264-268	Matt. xxi. 43-44
279-282	Matt. xxi. 45-46
283-296	Matt. xxii. 1-6
323-340	Matt. xxii. 7-14
345-350	Matt. xiii. 44
353-356	Matt. xiii. 45-46
361-367	Matt. xiii. 47-48
373-382	Matt. xiii. 49-52
383	Matt. xxiv. 1 a
385-388	Matt. xxiv. 1 b-2
391-398	Matt. xxiv. 3-5

S. P.	Vulgate.
401–403	Matt. xxiv. 6; Luc. xxi. 9
404–406	Matt. xxiv. 7; Luc. xxi. 10–11 a
407	Luc. xxi. 11 b
408–418	Matt. xxiv. 8–13
419–426	Luc. xxi. 12–19
427–428	Matt. xxiv. 21
429–436	Matt. xxiv. 17–18, 22, 24; Marc. xiii. 19–22
441–446	Luc. xxi. 25–26
452–466	Luc. xxi. 27–33
478–480	Matt. xxiv. 36
483–490	Matt. xxiv. 37–39
491–492	Matt. xxiv. 27
493–494	Matt. xxiv. 29
499–504	Matt. xxiv. 40–41
509–519	Marc. xiii. 33–37
522–530	Matt. xxiv. 42–44
531–538	Matt. xxv. 1–4
561–578	Matt. xxv. 5–13
611–620	Matt. xxv. 14–18
625–658	Matt. xxv. 19–30
675–702	Matt. xxv. 31–40
707–724	Matt. xxv. 41–46
747–751 a	Matt. xxvi. 1–2
	Wednesday: Judas's Bargain with the Chief Priests.
759–766	Matt. xxvi. 3–5
771–777	Matt. xxvi. 14–16
778	Luc. xxii. 3
	Thursday: The *Cena*; the Capture; Trials before Annas and Caiaphas; Peter's Denial.
799–800	Marc. xiv. 12
801	Luc. xxii. 8
802–804	Marc. xiv. 13
805–824	Matt. xxvi. 18–25
829–834	Joan. xiii. 23–26
840–849	Matt. xxvi. 26–29
865	Joan. xiii. 27
867–906	Joan. xiii. 1–16
909	Joan. xiii. 30
911–912	Marc. xiv. 44
918–919	Matt. xxvi. 31
920–924	Matt. xxvi. 33–35

S. P.	Vulgate.
931–1004	Joan. xiv. 1–31
1017–1070	Joan. xvi. 23 b, xvii. 11 a
1077–1081	Luc. xxii. 39; Matt. xxvi. 36
1083–1089	Luc. xxii. 40 b–42
1091–1096	Matt. xxvi. 40–41; Marc. xiv. 40
1097–1098	Luc. xxii. 39, 42
1103–1104	Luc. xxii. 43–44
1107–1108	Luc. xxii. 44
1117–1119	Marc. xiv. 42.
1121–1130	Joan. xviii. 1–4 a
1131–1133	Matt. xxvi. 49–50 a
1134	Luc. xxii. 48 b
1139–1152	Joan. xviii. 4 b–9
1154–1155	Marc. xiv. 50
1157–1158	Matt. xxvi. 55 a
1159–1165	Matt. xvi. 51–53; Joan. xviii. 10–11
1168–1172	Marc. xiv. 51–52
1173–1174	Matt. xxvi. 58 a
1175–1180	Joan. xviii. 13 (expanded)
1181–1203	Joan. xviii. 15–23
1205–1206	Joan. xviii. 24
1207–1208	Matt. xxvi. 58
1209–1230	Matt. xxvi. 60–68 (free)
1239–1256	Matt. xxvi. 69–75; Marc. xiv. 66–72; Joan. xviii. 25–27

Friday: The Trial before Pilate; the Suicide of Judas; the Crucifixion; the Burial.

1273–1274	Matt. xxvii. 19
1275–1281	Joan. xviii. 28 (free)
1285–1288	Joan. xviii. 29
1289–1293	Luc. xxiii. 2 (free); Matt. xxvi. 61
1297–1313	Luc. xxiii. 3–12
1315–1317 a	Luc. xxiii. 14–16
1317 b–1318	Joan. xix. 12 a
1319–1322	Joan. xviii. 29–31
1323–1341	Joan. xviii. 33–38
1343–1348	Joan. xviii. 40, 39
1357–1364	Joan. xix. 7–11
1367–1375	Joan. xix. 12–15
1376–1380	Matt. xxvii. 24–25
1388–1395	Matt. xxvii. 3–5
1398	Act. i. 18
1413–1432	Matt. xxvii. 28–30; Marc. xv. 17–19; Joan. xix. 2–3

S. P.	Vulgate.
1433–1435	Matt. xxvii. 31 ; Marc. xv. 20
1436	Joan. xix. 17 (free)
1441–1447	Luc. xxiii. 27–30
1451–1454	Matt. xxvii. 32 ; Marc. xv. 21 ; Luc. xxiii. 26
1455–1462	Luc. xxiii. 33 (expanded)
1475–1478	Luc. xxiii. 34 a
1479–1484	Matt. xxvii. 39–43 ; Luc. xxiii. 35
1487–1491	Luc. xxiii. 39–43
1493–1504	Joan. xix. 23–24
1505–1512	Joan. xix. 25–27
1520–1521	Joan. xix. 28
1522–1523	Matt. xxvii. 34
1539–1540	Joan. xix. 30
1541–1545	Matt. xxvii. 45 ; Marc. xv. 33 ; Luc. xxiii. 44
1567–1570	Matt. xxvii. 46
1578–1579	Matt. xxvii. 47
1580–1582	Luc. xxiii. 46
1591–1594	Matt. xxviii. 51–52
1625–1626	Matt. xxviii. 54 (free)
1629–1637	Joan. xix. 31–34
1681–1688 a	Joan. xix. 38–40 ; detail from Matt. xxvii. 59
1695–1699	Luc. xxiii. 55
1701–1708	Luc. xxiii. 56
	Saturday : The Appointing of the Watch.
1709–1718	Matt. xxvii. 62–65
	Easter Sunday : The Resurrection ; Explanation of the Feast of Easter ; Five Appearances of Jesus.
1722	Matt. xxviii. 2 a (free)
1723–1725	Matt. xxvii. 53
1785–1801	Matt. xxviii. 1–4
1803 b–1809	Matt. xxviii. 11–15
1811–1820	Marc. xvi. 3–4
1827–1836	Marc. xvi. 5–7
1849–1854	Joan. xx. 1–2
1857–1898	Joan. xx. 3–18
1991–2000	Matt. xxviii. 8–10 (adapted)
2003–2004	Marc. xvi. 11 (adapted) ; Luc. xxiv. 11
2005–2008	Luc. xxiv. 12 a ; 1 Cor. xv. 5
2017–2080	Luc. xxiv. 13–35
2081–2089 a	Joan. xx. 19
2089 b–2115	Luc. xxiv. 36 b–47
2117–2118	Joan. xx. 22

S. P.	Vulgate.
2119	Joan. xx. 20 b
2120–2124	Joan. xx. 21 a–23

The Period between Easter and Ascension Day; Three Appearances.

2125–2148	Joan. xx. 24–31
2169–2201	Joan. xxi. 1–11
2205–2213	Joan. xxi. 12–14
2221–2229	Joan. xxi. 15–17
2256–2263	Joan. xxi. 18–19 a
2275–2297 a	Joan. xxi. 19 b–24
2311–2324	Matt. xxviii. 16–20

Ascension Day: Two Appearances; The Ascension.

2327–2339	Marc. xvi. 14–18
2369	Act. i. 3, 12
2370–2371	Matt. xxviii. 19–20 a
2375–2376	Act. i. 4
2379–2395	Luc. xxiv. 44–51
2401–2410	Act. i. 9–11

Pentecost: The Choosing of Matthias; the Gift of Tongues.

2417–2422	Act. i. 12 (free)
2431–2440	Act. i. 13–14
2445–2456	Act. i. 15–26 (summarized)
2467–2492	Act. ii. 1–18, 37–40

Subsequent Acts of the Apostles; Healing of the Deformed Man; Martyrdom of Stephen.

2495–2496	Act. ii. 45
2499–2512	Act. iii. 1–15
2513–2532	Act. iv. 1–26 (free abridgement)
2533–2540	Act. iv. 32–37
2541–2542	Act. vii. 59–60

B. *The Historia Scholastica.*

The narrative structure of the *Southern Passion* corresponds in general outline to that of the *Liber in Evangelia*, chapters cxvi–cxcvi, of the *Historica Scholastica* of Peter Comestor.[11] In these chapters the story of the Passion week is organized into a chronicle of the events of each successive day,[12] and events subsequent to the Resurrection are presented as a series of ten

[11] Ed. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, cxcviii.

[12] The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* follows the same structural plan, but does not correspond in distribution of incident.

Apparitiones,[13] followed by the Ascension and Pentecost. This is precisely the structural plan of the *Southern Passion*. Here, as in the *Liber in Evangelia*, the transition from one day's action to the next in the Passion week is clearly marked, and the sequence of *Apparitiones* corresponds to the arrangement of Comestor. The general chronology of incident is virtually the same throughout the two works, although the author of the *Passion* has occasionally disregarded Comestor's judgement on a minor point, or made an arbitrary choice when the *Historia* presents two discrepant accounts. The poet's usual practice, in dealing with a situation of which there are conflicting accounts in the Gospels, is to select from all the Scriptural sources details which can be combined into a consistent narrative, disregarding those which offer chronological or other complications. When the order of events in the *Passion* is at variance with that in the *Liber in Evangelia*, the divergence is usually in the direction of some structural object, to supply direct motive for an act or to create a plausible transition. An instance in point is the placing of the account of Judas's remorse and suicide immediately after the pronouncement of the death sentence by Pilate (vv. 1387–88):—

> Pilatus hem let al y-worþe, þo he hadde y-ȝiue his dom.
> Iudas, þo he was y-dampned, gret dol to him nom.

Comestor had recorded the story at the point at which it is introduced in the Gospel of Matthew, after the Jews have led Jesus from Caiaphas to Pilate. Of the relation of the narrative structure of the *Passion* to that of the *Liber in Evangelia*, it may be said in general that the poet has adopted Comestor's calendar, but has worked out, within the divisions therein indicated, the most plausible sequence of events consistent with all possible fullness of incident.

The bulk of the expository material in the poem, with the exception of the interpretation of parables, may also be directly referred to the *Historia Scholastica*. The latter work has frequently supplied the explanation of a point of ecclesiastical usage, as the reason why the Eucharistic wafer is made of

[13] The same order is followed in the *Meditationes*. It was apparently traditional; cf. also the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of St. Edmund (Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Lyons, 1707, xxv, fol. 324).

wheat; or has offered a descriptive detail relevant to the theme in hand, as the name of the pit to which Peter fled weeping, and the miraculous characteristics of the spot of ground from which Jesus ascended. Comestor offers little in the way of picturesque analogue, but when he does, the poet makes the most of the suggestion, as in explaining the scarcity of miracles nowadays on the ground that the plant of Christianity has taken solid root, and does not need to be watered with signs and wonders. The above instances are typical of the material selected from Comestor's somewhat ponderous work; his copious scholiae upon disputed dogmas and his laboured etymologies are consistently rejected. In some instances the passages in the *Historia* which parallel lines in the *Passion* are common to other works, or merely embody a commonplace of contemporary information; but the regularity with which the parallels come forward, together with the fact that these parallels often show close verbal correspondence, renders it virtually certain that the *Historia Scholastica* was the standard work of reference for the author of the *Southern Passion*.

List of parallels between the *Passion* and the *Historia Scholastica*.

vv. 11-16. The Pope absents himself from all services on Palm Sunday in order to dispense alms to the poor. This custom commemorates the act of the Magdalene.[14] *In Evang.* cap. cxvi.[15]

[14] Earlier and contemporary versions of the legend of the Magdalene agree in identifying her with Mary the sister of Martha, and with the 'peccatrix' who, in the account given by Luke of the 'first anointing' (Luc. vii. 36–50), anointed the feet of Jesus. Cf. the two Southern versions (ed. Horstmann, *Sammlung Alteng. Leg.*, pp. 148–62 and 163–70); the version in the *Northern Homily Collection* (Neue Folge, pp. 81–93); the Middle English prose version of Durham Cathedral MS. V. ii. 14 (ed. with Latin source by Zupitza, *Arch.* xci, pp. 207 ff.); and the (unprinted) poem in Royal MS. 17. C. XVII, fols. 103 a–107 b, beginning 'Forthe come on of the phariseus'. In the *Historia Scholastica* the woman who anoints is referred to merely as 'Maria'; in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* she is the Magdalene. The *Northern Passion* has 'Magdaleyne' (*ed. cit.* pp. 12–17); the Cornish *Passion* 'a woman' (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1860–1, Appendix, pp. 14–15). In the *Long Life* of Christ, related to the *Southern Passion*, it is 'Mary' who anoints; in the *Short Life*, 'a foule womman'.

[15] Cf. also Alcuin, *Liber de Divinis Officiis*, *Patrol. Lat.* ci, col. 1200, and *Appendix ad Hugonis Opera Dogmatica*, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvii, cols. 883–4.

vv. 16–20. The feast which was held in Bethany six days before Easter took place in the house of Simon the Leper, who had been healed by Jesus. *In Evang.* cap. cxvi.

vv. 31–35. Judas's wrath at the waste of the ointment led him to sell Jesus ; he fixed the price of betrayal at thirty pence in order to indemnify himself for the loss of a tithe of the value of the ointment, which he had appraised at '300 pens'. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.[16]

vv. 45–126. The *Passion* follows the *Liber in Evangelia* in the order of events for Sunday, namely : the triumphal entry, the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the cleansing of the Temple.

vv. 59–60. The apostles were sent to find an ass that was tied ready for poor men that had need of it. *In Evang.* cap. cxvii.

v. 61. Peter and Philip were the two disciples who were sent on this mission. *In Evang.* cap. cxvii.

vv. 83–86. Jesus' statement that if the children had not done him honour, the very stones would have honoured him, is explained as referring to the bursting of rocks at the Crucifixion, when the disciples, by fleeing, failed to honour Jesus. *In Evang.* cap. cxviii.

vv. 135–38. The Passion week is called a week 'of penaunce and of pyne', because God laboured then as in the week when he made the world. *In Evang.* cap. cxxiii, Additio 2.

vv. 139–228. The events recorded in the *Passion* as taking

[16] Virtually the same explanation is given in the *Legenda Aurea* (ed. Graesse, 1846, pp. 185-6). For discussion of the life of Judas cf. Rand, 'Medieval Lives of Judas Iscariot' (*Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 305 ff.), and Baum, 'The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot' (*P. M. L. A.*, xxxi. 181 ff.). The price of betrayal is explained in the same way also in the *Vita Beatae Mariae et Salvatoris*, a poem in Latin septenaries belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century (ed. A. Vögtlein, Tübingen, 1888, vv. 4254–9). The motivation supplied in the thirteenth-century 'Ballad of Judas'—that the traitor sold Jesus for thirty pence in order to make up peculations from the common purse—seems not to have been perpetuated ; cf. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, i. 242–4, who also gives full bibliography of the legend of Judas.

place on Monday are: (1) the miracle of the fig-tree; (2) the incident of the widow's mite; (3) the parable of the grain of wheat; (4) the glorification; (5) the discourse on working while there is light. In the *Historia*, the last three items only belong to the chronicle of Monday. The Evangelists offer conflicting testimony as to the time at which the cursing of the fig-tree took place; Comestor, after comparing the accounts, leaves the question open, 'quia de facto non est questio, de die arbitrio legentis relinquimus'. *In Evang.* cap. cxvii.

vv. 189–90. The Eucharistic wafer is made of wheat, because it was to a grain of wheat that Jesus compared himself. *In Evang.* cap. cxxiv.

vv. 232–751. The portion of the *Passion* which is concerned with the events of Tuesday comprises a number of parables of the kingdom of heaven, and the discourse on the signs of Doomsday, the latter discourse including the parables of the ten virgins and of the talents. The order of material in the poem tallies with that in the *Historia*, except that the poet has substituted a series of parables from Matt. xiii for the material found in the *Historia* between the parables of the bridal feast and the discourse on Doomsday. This material included the argument with the Jews over tribute money and over marriage in the kingdom of heaven, and Jesus' denunciation of the Pharisees. It would appear that the poet varied from his model in this instance in order to bring forward matter of a more direct and practical ethical value, and more apposite to the theme in hand, than the passages which were rejected.

vv. 341–2. The words of Jesus, 'Many are called but few are chosen', are explained as referring to priests, who are ordained in large numbers, but who are in only a few instances worthy. This interpretation seems to be suggested by Comestor's inclusion of 'mali ecclesiastici' among those who will be cast into outer darkness. *In Evang.* cap. cxxviii.

vv. 481–2. Jesus did not know the day of doom, because he had the nature of man. *In Evang.* cap. cxlii. Comestor

indicates his source: 'Hieronymos respondit in minori breviario super psalmos, Humanitas filii dicit se ignorare finem mundi'.[17]

vv. 733–4. To bury the dead is the seventh work of mercy. *In Evang.* cap. cxlv; Comestor cites Tob. cap. ii, xii.

vv. 755–62. Jesus' words at the close of the discourse on Doomsday,

> After two dayes ȝe wyteþ wel þat Ester shal come,

are explained by the fact that the Passover began on the evening of Thursday. *In Evang.* cap. cxlvii.

v. 759. Wednesday was the day on which Judas's bargain was made. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.

vv. 787–92. The price of betrayal was fixed at thirty pence because Judas wished to recover a tithe of the value of the wasted ointment. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.[18]

vv. 793–94. Wednesday is kept as a fast-day, to commemorate the fact that Jesus was betrayed on that day. *In Evang.* cap. clxviii.[19]

vv. 855–58. When Jesus blessed the bread and wine, the elements became flesh and blood 'wiþ strengþe of þis wordes'. Cf. 'ex virtute horum verborum'. *In Evang.* cap. cliii.

v. 1168. St. John was the youth whose garment was torn from him by the Jews when he sought to flee. *In Evang.* cap. clvii; Comestor cites *Jerome super Psal.* xxxii, and adds, 'Videtur tamen potius opinando quam affirmando dixisse'.

v. 1176. The Jews led Jesus first to Annas, 'ffor his court was in þe wey'. Cf. 'in transitu'. *In Evang.* cap. clvii.

vv. 1222–3. When Jesus declared himself the Son of God, Caiaphas rent his clothes—

> as gywes wolleþ by wone
> whanne me spekeþ ouȝt aȝen hare god.

In Evang. cap. clx.

[17] This should perhaps be regarded as an instance of liturgical influence; cf. § D following.

[18] Cf. note 15 above.

[19] Cf. *Leg. Aur., ed. cit.*, p. 154.

vv. 1257–8. The pit to which Peter fled after his denial of Jesus is called the 'put of cokkes crowe'. Cf. 'in caveam quae modo Gallicantus appellatur'. *In Evang.* cap. clix.[20]

vv. 1259–70. The devil had always feared that Jesus was God's son, and dreaded the time when he should be overcome by the death of Jesus. When he heard Jesus confess himself, before Caiaphas, to be the son of God, he sought to prevent the design of the Jews from being carried out.

He þouȝte þat wymmen to ouercome esy ꝛ mylde were.
To pilatus wif he com a-niȝt as hit were in metynge
And radde hure to beo aboute Ihesu ffram deþe to bringe.

Cf. 'Iam Dei nutu poterat cognoscere diabolus mysterium crucis, et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur'. *In Evang.* cap. clxvii.[21]

vv. 1399–1400. Judas's soul could not escape, at his death, through his mouth, because his lips had treacherously kissed Jesus. It escaped, instead, through the opening made when his body burst asunder. *In Evang.* cap. clxii.[22]

vv. 1406–10. Judas offended more by his wanhope than by his betrayal of Jesus. *In Evang.* cap. clxii; Comestor cites *Jerome super Psal.* cviii.

vv. 1497–98. The tunic upon which lots were cast is described as:

y-sowed myd no þrede
Ak wiþ þwonges of leþer.

In Evang. cap. clxxi.

[20] Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 240; the author here cites the *Historia Scholastica* as his authority (so also on p. 234).

[21] Cf. § C below, under discussion of the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux.

[22] The legend concerning Judas's soul appears to be related to the ancient concept, shown by Dr. Louise Dudley to be of Coptic origin, of the 'soul's refusal to die' (cf. *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul*, Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, No. 8 (1911); see especially Appendix D). The outlet for the departing soul might traditionally be any one of the orifices of the body, most frequently the mouth; but the soul might refuse to depart by some one of these openings on the ground that it had performed a good deed. In the case of Judas, although his kiss was treasonable, the lips which gave it were sanctified by their contact with Jesus (cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 186).

vv. 1553-66. Great clerks in distant lands saw the eclipse which followed the Crucifixion, and did not understand it. St. Denis, who was in Athens at that time, explained it as follows:

> Oþer God þoleþ deþ in fflesch, oþer the wordles kunde
> Is y-brouȝt up þe doune.

The brief summary of the story of Denis found in the *Liber in Evangelia* (cap. clxxv) is probably responsible for the presence of the allusion in the poem, but the details in the *Southern Passion* show that the poet was familiar with the legend.[23]

vv. 1571-3. The cry of Jesus from the cross, 'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' is an expression of his grief because no one except the penitent thief appeared to believe in him. *In Evangl.* cap. clxxvi.

vv. 1635-40. A blind knight, Longinus, thrust a spear into Jesus' side. Wiping his eyes with his blood-stained hand, he received his sight.

As in the case of the legend of Denis, a reference in the *Historia* may account for the presence, in the *Southern Passion*, of a well-known story. Comestor records the incident 'ut tradunt quidam', and does not refer to the centurion by name. *In Evang.* cap. clxxix.[24]

vv. 1691-4. Since the body of Jesus was found wrapped in a pure linen cloth, the Eucharistic wafer is always, according to a decree of Pope Sylvester, kept in a pure linen cloth. *In Evang.* cap. clxxx.

vv. 1873-2124. The *Southern Passion* follows the *Liber in Evangelia* in chronicling the appearances of the risen Christ in the following order: (1) appearance to the Magdalene (after the three Maries have seen the angel); (2) appearance to the three Maries on the road to Jerusalem; (3) appearance to Peter; (4) appearance to Luke and Cleopas

[23] Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 682 (*Historia Scholastica* again cited).

[24] A very brief version of the legend of Longinus stands in the *Leg. Aur.*, pp. 202-3. For a full discussion of the Longinus tradition, cf. Dr. Rose Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition*, Bryn Mawr College Monograph Series, No. 9 (1911).

on the way to Emmaus; (5) appearance to the eleven in a closed room.

The poet has had some difficulty in adjusting the discrepant Scriptural accounts of the appearance to the women and to Mary Magdalene. According to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the three women go together to the tomb, and Mark adds, 'primo apparuit Magdalenae'. According to John, the Magdalene went alone to the sepulchre; she saw first two angels, and later Jesus. The author of the *Passion* combines these two accounts by explaining that the Magdalene became separated from the other Maries, and as she remained at the sepulchre Jesus appeared to her. She then went to find the other women, and all went together to find the apostles. This explanation is brought in at a point where it might naturally have been suggested by a sentence of Comestor's, 'Venit autem Maria Magdalena jam credens, et inventis aliis, quae cum illa prius fuerant, ibant simul ad discipulos'. *In Evang.* cap. cxc.

vv. 1821–7. The sepulchre in which the body of Jesus was laid is described as follows:

Now was hit a manere hows þat god was ynne y-do
y-graued wyde in a roche, deep and muche þer-to
Þat is y-cleped a monument; in þe est half þe dore is
And þanne wiþynne þulke hous, in þe north ende y-wis,
Oure lordes sepulcre was; and of þulke sulfe ston
Þer nas non so hey aboute by þreo spanne ȝ on.

With the exception of the point of the unusual height of the monument, this description corresponds closely with that in the *Liber in Evang.* cap. clxxxi. Comestor names as his source 'Beda Super Marcum'. The height of the sepulchre is, however, noted in the description (also derived from Bede) in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi.*[25]

vv. 2020–1. Emmaus was seven and a half miles from Jerusalem. *In Evang.* cap. cxci.

vv. 2260–72. The words of Jesus to Peter, 'cum autem

[25] Ed. Venice, 1756, cap. lxxxii: 'De hoc monumento dicit Beda: quod fuit domus rotunda, de subjacente rupe excisa, tantae altitudinis ut vix homo manu extenta culmen posset attingere,' &c.

senueris, extendes manus tuas, et alius te cinget, et ducet quo tu non vis', are explained as referring to the crucifixion of Peter. Cf. 'significans quia crucifigeretur'. *In Evang.* cap. cxcv. The phrase in the poem 'agen his fflesches will', translates Comestor's 'nolens secundum sensum carnis'.

vv. 2303–8. The words of Jesus with reference to John, 'Sic eum volo manere, donec veniam, quid ad te?' are interpreted as meaning that John should not die in martyrdom, but should end his life in peace. *In Evang.* cap. cxcvi.

v. 2310. The scrap of moralizing—

> ffor hit is betere deye her in goede deþ
> þan beo euer her in wo—

seems to have been suggested by a verse from Phil. i which is quoted by Comestor. *In Evang.* cap. cxcvi.

vv. 2327–2410. The *Southern Passion* follows the *Liber in Evangelia* in recording two appearances for the day of the Ascension.

vv. 2352–66. Miracles were performed in large numbers in the early days of the Church because the plant of Christianity had not yet taken root in men's hearts, and it was necessary to water the soil wherein it was planted with God's grace. Now that Christianity is firmly established, this need no longer exists; hence miracles are few. Nevertheless, they are vouchsafed occasionally, for grain, even when it has struck root, is in need of occasional watering. *In Evang.* cap. cxcvii.

vv. 2411–12. On the hill from which the Ascension took place, a church now stands. It was impossible, however, to cover the spot of ground on which Jesus had stood; every stone laid thereon rose up and smote the head of the workman who had handled it. *In Act.* cap. v.[26]

vv. 2412 d–16. Every Thursday was formerly kept as a holyday, in commemoration of the Ascension; but this custom had to be given up on account of the multiplicity of feast-days in the year. *In Act.* cap. vii.

[26] Cf. *Leg. Aur.*, p. 319; Sulpicius is here cited as authority.

vv. 2421–2. The distance from Mt. Olivet to Jerusalem, a 'Sabbath day's journey', was a thousand paces, the limit of the distance that a Jew was permitted to travel on the Sabbath. *In Act.* cap. vi.

C. *Other Twelfth-Century Authorities.*

1. Hugo of St. Victor

A number of the interpretations of parables[27] in the *Southern Passion* correspond in general outline to those in the *Allegoriae in Novum Testamentum* attributed to Hugo of St. Victor.[28]

vv. 233–54, 308–22. Parable of the vineyard seized by the workers interpreted as referring to the crimes of the Jews, and the punishment of the race by the destruction of Jerusalem. *Allegoriae*, Lib. IV, cap. xxxi.[29]

vv. 283–302, 323–44. Parable of the bridal feast; interpreted as referring to the Jews, who rejected the invitation of the prophets to avail themselves of the bliss of heaven. All the elements of this interpretation are to be found in the much more analytic discussion of Hugo, *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxxii. Titus and Vespasian are here mentioned as the instruments of God's vengeance.

vv. 361–76. Parable of the net let down into the sea; the sea is the world, the net is preaching. Cf. *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxvi.[30]

vv. 531–603. Parable of the ten virgins; the wise are those Christians who do good for the sake of cultivating the grace of God and winning eternal life, the foolish are those who do good works for the sake of the world's approval. Cf. *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxxiv.

[27] It has not seemed worth while to make exhaustive search for sources in dealing with this type of material.

[28] Ed. Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxv, col. 751 ff., under *Exegetica Dubia*.

[29] A similar interpretation is given by Augustine in *Sermones de Scripturis* (*Patrol. Lat.* xxxviii, col. 531). Augustine is the ultimate source also for the familiar explanation of the figure of Christ the corner-stone (*Southern Passion*, vv. 255–63); the two walls joined by Christ are the Jewish and the Christian law (*ibid.*, col. 544).

[30] Cf. also Bonaventura, *Determinationes inter questiones*, &c. (*Opera*, Rome, 1588, vii. 356, col. 1).

vv. 611–72. Parable of the talents: the five talents explained as the five wits; usury, the winning of souls to the church, &c. There are some parallels with the *Allegoriae*, Lib. II, cap. xxxv.

2. Abbé Robert of Tuy.

Although the Abbé Robert of Tuy is not a writer with whom the author of the *Southern Passion* might be expected to be familiar, the following parallel should be noted.

vv. 1837–48. There is a 'demaunde' why the resurrection angel, in bidding the Maries bear news of the resurrection to the apostles, singled out Peter by name. The first reason was lest Peter should despair, in consequence of his threefold denial. Again, Jesus directed the express mention of Peter—

ffor he hadde ordeyned þat he sholde beo
An heued of holy chirche; and þanne he sholde y-seo
How mylde god was to him, þey he him fforsoke,
And as mylde to beo to sunffol men and ensaumple þerto toke.

These lines summarize with idiomatic brevity a passage from a discourse of Robert, which explains, not why Peter was named, but a closely related matter—why Jesus appeared to Peter sooner than to any other disciple.

Princeps quippe apostolorum Petrus destinatus fuerat. . . . Tale et tanta praeeunte evangelicae veritatis auctoritate, Christianissimi imperatores post multa tempora, omnesque Ecclesiarum principes hoc censuerunt . . . ut sicut imperatori omnes praefecti vel judices, sic beato Petro et secundum dignitatem ejus excellenti Romano pontifici caeteri subjecti sint Ecclesiarum pontifices. . . . Quando autem vel quomodo sciret homo positus in celsitudine honoris, in magna conscientia sanctitatis condescendere parvis, condolere miseris? . . . Oportebat igitur praedestinato atque vocato ad tantum celsitudinem. Petro apostolo causam subesse et magnitudinem honoris ejus praeire, unde humilitatis atque compassionis scientia jugiter posset accidere.[81]

[81] *Patrol. Lat.* clxvii, col. 1638. The passage occurs in a sermon entitled 'Quod prius peccatrici quam apostolis, prius Petro qui eum negaverat quam Joanni quem diligebat Christus apparuit.' This discourse supplies also a possible source for vv. 1901–6 of the poem, which point out that in appearing first to the Magdalene Jesus showed great honour to women,

And to alle synffolle, ffor ȝeo so synffol was.
We ne dorre beo in no wanhope þat synffolle beoþ
Whanne Jesus wole to vs wende, as we here y-seoþ.

In view of the obvious nature of the lessons suggested by the appearance

3. Bernard of Clairvaux

It would be matter for surprise if no trace of the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux were to be found in a thirteenth-century poem on the Passion. And in fact, although the sermons and meditations of Bernard have not affected the content or style of the *Southern Passion* to any marked extent, several passages in them have left their impression on the poem. The borrowings are made, not only from the rhetorical and lyrical prose which supplied themes and conventions for much religious verse of the period,[32] but from scattered details of theological exposition.

The theology of Bernard has apparently determined the poet's view of the part played by the devil in the Passion, which is reflected in the following passage.

vv. 1259–70. The devil, who had always feared that Jesus was the son of God, had 'entyced' the Jews to destroy him ever since his birth, and with special zeal since his baptism. When, however, he heard Jesus confess himself before Caiaphas to be the Son of God, he 'amendede his pas', in fear of losing his power through the success of the plan of redemption. He regretted his former policy and sought for a means of delivering Jesus.

He þouȝte þat wy*m*men to ou*er*come esy ꝛ mylde were.
To pilatus wif he com aniȝt, as hit were in metynge
And radde hure to beo aboute Ihesu ffram deþe to bringe.
Me þinkeþ þ*er* he was his ffreond; ak blame habbe þ*at* hi*m* þonk conne
ffor he ne durste ȝulpe nouȝt þat he ouȝt þ*er*-þorw wonne.

vv. 1479–86. The Jews' mocking speech to Jesus, 'If thou art the Son of God, bring thyself down from the cross', was

to the Magdalene, one can hardly assert a definite source for the above lines. The poet may have had in mind the series of five reasons for the honour shown the Magdalene which are in the *Legenda Aurea* (*ed. cit.*, p. 239), which include that of giving encouragement to penitent sinners.

[32] It appears to have been the doubtful rather than the canonical works of Bernard which most strongly influenced vernacular literature of the Passion. To avoid circumlocution, I refer to such works as the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Christi* and *Lamentatio in Passionem* under the name of Bernard.

inspired by the devil, who wished, in order to protect his own power, to prevent the death of Jesus.

The notion that the devil appeared personally in the vision of Pilate's wife occurs in the Gospel of Nicodemus; in this version he disguised himself as an angel.[33] His exploitation of a woman to serve his ends is a variation of the Garden of Eden story.[34] These details illustrate, of course, almost invariable primary processes in the growth of a legend—amplification and transference of the original incident. A more significant aspect of the story of the vision is its relation to the matter of the devil's knowledge of the plan of redemption—a favourite theme of medieval speculation. Early theologians had assumed that the devil was in ignorance, even until after the crucifixion, of the Divine motive. Leo the Great (†461) wrote:

Hoc magnae pietatis sacramentum . . . diabolica superbia nesciebat. . . . Sed quia hostem generis humani latebat consilium misericordiae Dei, . . . perstitit in eum furere, in quo nihil suum poterat invenire. Nam et malignitate ejus hoc magis potuisset prodesse si parceret, et se ab effusione ejus sanguinis abstineret, per quem omnium erat solvenda captivitas.[35]

If he had not been deceived by the humility of Jesus in assuming human nature, the devil would have urged the Jews to clemency rather than hatred:

Qui ut humanum genus vinculis mortiferae praevaricationis absolveret, et saevienti diabolo potentiam suae majestatis occuluit, et

[33] Cf. the Middle English poetical version (ed. W. H. Hulme, *E. E. T. S.* 100), vv. 183-92; so also in the expanded version of the *Northern Passion* (*ed. cit.*, introd., p. lxvi). The shorter form of the *Northern Passion* has 'a beast of hell'.

[34] Cf. the following passage from the *Fall and Passion* in MS. Harl. 913 (ed. Heuser, *Die Kildaregedichte*, Bonner Beitr. xiv, 108):

> Whi com he raþer to Eve
> Þan he com to Adam?
> Ichul ȝou telle, sires, beleve,
> For womman is lef euer to man,
> Womman mai turne man is wille.

A further extension of the theme may be noted in the Newcastle play of the *Flood*, in which the Devil goes to Noah's wife to urge her to deter Noah from building the ark (*Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, E. E. T. S. Ext. Ser. civ, 22).

[35] *Patrol. Lat.* liv, col. 378.

infirmitatem nostrae humilitatis objecit. Si enim crudelis et superbus inimicus consilium misericordiae Dei nosse potuisset, Judaeorum animos mansuetudine potius temperare, quam injustis odiis studisset accendere.[36]

Bernard represents the devil as apprehending the danger to his own power threatened by the death of Jesus, and taking measures to prevent it. The statement in the *Southern Passion* that the devil's change of policy dated from Jesus' confession of divinity in the presence of Caiaphas does not occur in Bernard; but the poem appears to have followed the Latin work closely in attributing both the vision of Pilate's wife and the taunting cry of the Jews to the machinations of the devil.

Alioquin quonam alio instigante misisse credimus uxorem Pilati ad ipsum, dicentem: *Nihil tibi et justo illi: multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum?* (Matt. xxvii. 19). Timebat ergo jam tunc; sed nunc maxime virtute crucis enervari se sentiens inimicus, sera ducitur poenitentia: et quos instigavit ad crucifigendum, instigat ad suadendum ut de cruce descendat.[37]

[36] *Ibid.*, col. 351; cf. also col. 344. The devil's failure to comprehend the mystery of the Incarnation is touched upon in the so-called *Geburt Jesu* (ed. Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg.*, p. 41). Here it is explained that it was necessary for Mary to be wedded to Joseph, in order that the devil might not know that a maid bore a child:

> ȝif he it wuste, e wolde wite
> Þat hit were godes sone,
> And habbe destourbed al þe dede
> Of his swete passione.

With this may be compared another passage from the sermons of Leo: 'Hoc ipsum, autem, dilectissimi, quod Christus nasci elegit ex Virgine non apparet altissimae fuisse rationis ut scilicet natam humano generi salutem diabolus ignoraret, et spiritali latente conceptu, quem non alium videret quam alios, non aliter crederet natum esse quam caeteros' (*Patrol. Lat.* liv, col. 196).

[37] *Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiii, col. 276. An analytic discussion of the question whether the devil knew Christ to be the Son of God is given by Peter Abelard; it is entitled 'Quod Judaei vel daemones Christum cognoverint etiam ante passionem ejus et non'. The discourse (which, it may be noted, contains the well-known allusion to Christ's human nature as the 'bait' which induced the devil to swallow the 'hook' of his divinity) concludes as follows: 'Nam quamvis eum Filium Dei fuerat confessus (sc. diabolus), velut purum tamen illum hominem mori credidit ad cujus mortem Judaeorum persequentium animos concitavit. Sed in ipso traditionis ejus tempore tarde jam cognovisse intelligitur quod ipse illa

The curious locution 'one mannes son', translating 'filius hominis', occurs frequently in the *Southern Passion* (vv. 675, 1134, 1218, &c.). The basis for the phrase is doubtless a passage in a (possibly spurious) work of Bernard:

'Et bene, *Filius hominis*, et non Hominum: quia sine virili semine de pura et intemerata Virgine natus, de Patre sine matre in coelis est genitus,'[38]

although the distinction here drawn has been imperfectly understood by the translator.

vv. 1907–22. The fealty of which women are capable is shown by the devotion of the Magdalene to Jesus. When his apostles and kinsmen—

> In his sepulcre lete him beo, þey hi dreori were of þouȝte,
> And lete him beo as ffreondles; þo Marie him souȝte.

A chapter in the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurectionem Christi* attributed to Bernard bears the heading 'De Mariae Magdalenae devotione in Christo requirendo, et ejus visione'. The author does not employ the Magdalene's devotion as an illustration of the fidelity of women in general, but the tenor of the chapter corresponds to that of the metrical passage. The thought of the following sentence is especially close to that of the lines quoted:

Non potuit amor tantus Christo etiam moriente mori; fugientibus et latentibus viris, hoc est Apostolis, mulier imperterrita stabat ad monumentum plorans.[39]

In other instances material is referable to Bernard among others. Certain passages attributed to him which stand in the *Legenda Aurea* are noted under § E below.

ejus morte puniretur. Unde et Pilati conjugium somniis terruit,' etc. (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxviii, cols. 1452–3). Abelard does not mention the taunt of the Jews as one of the devil's efforts to save Jesus, nor does Peter Comestor, who merely offers the statement 'Iam Dei nutu peterat cognoscere diabolus mysterium crucis, et ideo laborabat ne Christus moreretur', after recording the message sent by Pilate's wife. (Cf. p. 66, above.)

[38] *Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 896 (under *Ogerii Opera*).

[39] *Ibid.*, col. 765.

D. *Liturgy and Ritual.*

No sustained influence from the Liturgy is traceable in the *Southern Passion*, but one may note an occasional reflection of ritual, and echo of the language of the service-book. In some instances of influence from ecclesiastical usage, the *Historia Scholastica*, as has been noted, serves as medium.[40] The following material is not, however, touched upon by Comestor.

vv. 87–90. The silencing of the church bells at Tenebres, and the substitution of 'stones and claperes' as a means of summoning the congregation to church, are symbolic of the fact that at the time of the Passion, the apostles, the 'sompnours of holy churche', were silent, but the stones which clave asunder did honour to Jesus.

The *Liber de Divinis Officiis* of Alcuin explains the silence of the bells as symbolic of the silence of the Apostles: 'Quia ordo praedicatorum tempore passionis siluit, reticetur sonus signorum atque campanarum. Pro hoc enim humilior sonus lignorum ad congregandum populum assumitur.'[41]

vv. 103–4. Jesus' prophecy in regard to Jerusalem, that 'one stone shall not remain upon another', was fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus and Vespasian.

The connexion between the theme of the destruction of Jerusalem and the events of the Passion season is emphasized in the Liturgy by the *Lectiones* appointed for Holy Week, selections from Jeremiah's prophecies of the destruction of the city.[42]

v. 786. The term 'luþur chapman' applied to Judas may

[40] Cf. § B, notes on vv. 11–16, 189–90, 481–2, 1691–4.

[41] *Patrol. Lat.* ci, col. 1205. According to another tradition, the wooden clapper symbolizes the wood of the cross (*App. ad Hugonis Opera Dogmatica*, *Patrol. Lat.* clxxvii, col. 890). The Schaff-Herzog *Real-Encyclopädie* explains the noise of the clapper as representing the clamorous confusion of Nature which attended the crucifixion.

[42] Cf. Hereford *Breviarium* (Bradshaw Soc.), i, under 'Ebdomata Sancta'; also iii, xix. The connexion is explained in the homily for Palm Sunday in Mirk's *Festial*: 'Þus he þen prophesyet before of wracch þat aftyr fell þat cite of Ierusalem for vengeans of hys deþe. þe whech vengeans Ieremy þe prophit spekyþe in trenis þat is red þes þre dayes at Tenebrys' (ed. *E.E.T.S.*, Ext. Ser., xcvi, 122).

have been suggested by a *Responsio* for the third nocturne in Thursday of Holy Week, 'Judas mercator pessimus'.[43]

vv. 929–1004, 1016–70. These two passages render discourses of Jesus, which, according to the Vulgate, were uttered at the *Cena*, but which were transferred by the author of the *Southern Passion* to Mt. Olivet. The use of these two portions of Scripture appears to have been suggested by the Breviary; they represent respectively the Gospel for SS. Philip and James's Day, and St. Mark's Day, and are thus introduced in the poem:

as þe gospel seiþ vs
Vp Seint Phelip ȝ Iacob, þat bygunneþ þus;

and:

How we shulleþ ȝut wel do oure lord wisseþ vs
In þe gospel a seint Markes day . þat bygunneþ þus.[44]

v. 1119. Jesus tells his disciples to wake for 'hi slepeþ nouȝt þat secheþ me'. The suggestion for this verse would seem to have come from a *Responsio* in the second nocturne on Thursday in Holy Week:

'Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum qui exhortabimini mori pro me. Vel Judan non videtis quomodo non dormit sed festinat tradere me Judaeis.'[45]

vv. 1811–16:

Marie Magdaleyne and hure ffelawes tweye
To seo oure lord as ich sede dude ham in þe weye.
So sore hi dradde þat hi nuste how hit fferde þere
And awaytede ffer and to, and ne durste go no nere
Ak ȝeode abak and stode stille, and suþþe ȝeode ffor softe.
Ofte hi ȝeode softe fforþ and suþþe wiþdrow ham ofte.

[43] Cf. Hereford *Breviarium, ed. cit.*, i. 309; Sarum, *ed. cit.*, col. dcclxxvii; the same phrase also in *Med. Vitae Christi*, cap. lxxv. Cf. also Bernard, 'mercator nequam', *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiv, col. 882; the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, has 'a malo venditore' (*Patrol. Lat.*, xlii, col. 1128).

[44] The lessons designated in the poem as appointed for these two days (Joan. xiv. 1–31 and xvi. 23–xvii. 11; cf. Table of Sources in the Vulgate, p. 58, above) approximate those appointed in the Hereford use. For SS. Philip and James (Joan. xiv. 1–13), cf. *Breviarium, ed. cit.*, ii. 157; for St. Mark (Joan. xvi, emended by editor to xiiii), *ibid.* 154. The Sarum use agrees for SS. Philip and James (cf. *Proprium Sanctorum*, ed. Proctor and Wordsworth, col. 267), but not for Mark.

[45] Cf. Hereford *Breviarium, ed. cit.*, i. 309; Sarum, *ed. cit.*, col. dcclxxix; also Bernard, *Meditatio in Passionem* (*Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiv, col. 743).

For the evidences of fear on the part of the Maries—stationing themselves at a distance from the monument, and venturing forth with hesitating step and withdrawing—the account of the Resurrection in the Vulgate affords no basis. These details of action may almost with certainty be referred to liturgical drama; they bear out with dramatic concreteness the rubric instructions for the Maries in the Easter play. The timid, wavering step of the women translates into action 'pedetemptim', in the well-known text of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Ethelwold:

Dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium residui tres se succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes, ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid veniant ante locum Sepulchri. Aguntur enim haec ad imitationem Angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum eum aromatibus venientum ut ungerent corpus Ihesu.[46]

E. The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the *Lignum Vitae*.

The *Meditationes Vitae Christi*[47] combines the qualities of meditation and sermon. The narrative as a whole is informed with feeling, and in occasional passages the writer dwells with lyric emphasis on some point of special appeal. At the same time, the effect on the audience[48] is continually kept in mind. The avowed object of the work is to bring before the reader the facts in the life of Jesus, and, explicitly, to induce men to meditate upon these facts. The work is described by its author as 'Meditatio carnalis', a meditation the subject of which is 'Haec . . . quae Dominus gessit in carne'. Meditation upon the deeds of Jesus in the flesh is the first step, he explains, in

[46] The text is printed by Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 309.

[47] Citations from the *Meditationes* and the *Lignum Vitae* in the following pages refer to the edition printed at Venice in 1756 (see vols. xii and v respectively).

[48] The work in the form in which it appears in printed editions is, as has been recognized, addressed to a Poor Clare, but a general audience appears to have been kept in the writer's mind.

the scale of mystic contemplation, the necessary approach to loftier communion with the Divine nature. 'Longe sublimius est, in spiritu intueri ad quae per hanc scalam pervenire poteris, sed in hac interim immorandum, de quo ait Bernardus'.[49] Repeatedly the reader is exhorted to fix his mind upon situations in the gospel narrative by such phrases as 'considera', 'intuere', &c. The purpose of the work is, then, not so much to record meditation, as to impress upon the reader the value of such meditation. In this homiletic character, the *Meditationes* is, of course, wholly set apart from such highly subjective meditations as those of Bernard and Anselm, works of impassioned personal devotion. In such a work as Bernard's *Sermo de Vita et Passione Domini*,[50] the appeal to the reader is not made through precept or direct admonition; it is inherent in the fervent expression of the writer's own feeling. The homiletic element of the *Meditationes* is increased by the bulk of 'moralitates et auctoritates' cited by the author—passages from Augustine, Bernard, and Peter Comestor, which afford explanation or background at various points; and by disquisitions on the active and contemplative life, on the process of meditation, &c. The emphasis of the treatise as a whole is so strongly didactic that the title *Meditationes* seems a misnomer.

This work appears to have influenced the *Southern Passion* in respect to purpose, method, temper, and details of expression more than any other single meditation or sermon. In the first place, the poem is cast in the same general mould as the *Meditationes*, that of commentated narrative interrupted with emotional apostrophe. This correspondence might not of itself carry weight, were it not that the *Meditationes* is literally unique among kindred works in presenting a day-by-day chronicle of

[49] Cap. xcix.

[50] *Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxiv, col. 955; for the same emotional mood cf. the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem Domini* (*ibid.*, cols. 741–69); *Lamentatio in Passionem Christi* (*ibid.*, cols. 769–71); *Liber de Passione Christi et doloribus matris eius* (*Patrol. Lat.*, clxxxii, cols. 1134–41); also Anselm, *Sermo de Passione Domini* (*Patrol. Lat.*, clviii, col. 675). The inspiration of the *Meditationes* came doubtless from Bernard, or works attributed to him, but his characteristic material is only occasionally reflected, and the fervent personal emotion of the earlier writer becomes in the *Meditationes* a didactic mysticism.

this twofold character for the Passion week.[51] Since, moreover, to this general correspondence in structure may be added numerous resemblances of more limiting character amounting to a degree of likeness which is not paralleled in any other of the better-known Latin treatises on the Passion, it would appear that the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* supplied the general norm, although not a close model, for the *Southern Passion*.

It should be noted at this point that a large proportion of the actual subject-matter of the *Meditationes* does not appear in the *Southern Passion*. The narrative of the earlier life of Jesus is naturally not carried over into a story of the Passion week. Moreover, none of the speculative discussion found in the prose work finds a place in the poem, and the illustrative and expository material offers only a few parallels, in proportion to the quantity of this type of material in the *Meditationes*. That a few parallels of this type do come forward suggests that certain striking passages in the *Meditationes* had impressed themselves on the poet's memory, while the bulk of information was naturally forgotten. A second type of material which abounds in the portion of the *Meditationes* under discussion, but which does not appear in the poem, is the mass of apocryphal incident relating to the Blessed Virgin, and the laments over her sufferings. As has been said, the figure of Mary is given no prominence in the *Southern Passion*. Although her share in the sufferings of the Passion is presented with sympathy, the poet is not moved to outbursts of lamentation by the theme; the figure of Mary is definitely subordinated to that of Jesus. Lack of agreement between the poem and the *Meditationes* in this regard does not, however, militate against a theory of relationship between the two. The author of the *Southern Passion* seems to have reacted consistently against the influence of the cult of Mary, which could hardly have failed to reach him through other channels. It saturates other Latin treatments of the Passion, and dominates portions of the Liturgy.

On the whole it would seem that the poet had been impressed by the general purpose and method of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, and had evolved a highly simplified work on the same

[51] The *Hist. Schol.*, while constructed on the same framework, has no passages of apostrophe or emotionalized reflection.

lines. Into this work were incorporated certain details of substance, and certain forms of expression characteristic of the *Meditationes* which had been retained in memory.

The *Lignum Vitae* has, much more clearly than the *Meditationes*, the character of a meditation. Its underlying purpose is, however, fundamentally the same—to place before the reader the facts in the life of Jesus in such form as will induce meditation upon them. The object, content, and plan of arrangement of the work can best be indicated by quoting from the preface to the edition of 1756:

> Ut Christi Domini vita, passio et glorificatio menti, affectui et memoriae Christianorum infixae semper haereant, Bonaventura arborem excogitavit: quae duodecim expansa ramis frondibusque ac floribus pulchre ornata instar ligni Vitae mysterii de quo Joannes Apoc. 22 loquitur, fructum duodenum affert omne delectamentum, etc.[62]

The *Lignum Vitae* consists of fifty short paragraphs, each of which is a meditation on some event in the life of Jesus, or on some aspect in which Christ was presented by the theology of the period. The general character of these may be indicated by the following paragraph headings: *Jesus praefiguratus, Jesus emissus coelitus, Jesus Maria natus, Jesus mortuus in cruce, Jesus victor magnificus, Jesus sponsus ornatus, Jesus finis optatus.* The plan of arrangement has obviously nothing in common with that of the *Meditationes*; the narrative is, moreover, very much briefer—mere summary in fact—and the element of exposition is by comparison negligible. The avowed object is, however, as has been noted, the same; and there are correspondences in phrasing in the portion dealing with the crucifixion, especially in passages of direct address to Jesus or to man.

It is only in those respects in which the *Lignum Vitae* corresponds to the *Meditationes*, namely in general objective, tone, and lyrical phraseology, that it corresponds also to the *Southern Passion.* In a few passages, the agreement of phrase is markedly closer between the *Lignum Vitae* and the poem than between the *Meditationes* and the poem. The *Meditationes* on the other hand exhibits large resemblances to the poem

[62] So also in Peltier, who reprints the text of the Vatican edition of 1609.

which are not shared by the *Lignum Vitae*. The influence of the latter may therefore be regarded as auxiliary.

The detailed resemblances between the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, some of which involve also the *Lignum Vitae*, may be grouped as follows:

1. Explanatory comment on the narrative.
2. Graphic details of the narrative, and manner of presenting them.
3. The quality of feeling and form of expression in the laments.
4. The general theme of many of the laments.
5. The reproachful tone of addresses to the reader, and the phrasing of these addresses.

1. *Explanatory comment.*

vv. 837–8. Peter did not know, at the *Cena*, that Judas was the disciple who would betray Jesus, for, if he had known:

> as hit is y-write
> He him hadde anon myd his teþ to-drawe and to-bite.

Cf. *M. V. C.*, cap. lxxiii: 'Petro autem Dominus non dixit, quia ut dicit Augustinus: si ipsum dixisset, dentibus proditorem discerpsisset.'[53]

v. 1438:

> Ffor gret shennesse hi him made bere his owene dom.

Cf. *M. C. V.*, cap. lxxvii: (The Jews brought great shame upon Thee by making Thee the associate of thieves) 'sed et deterius faciunt, qui crucem vobis portandam imponunt, quod de latronibus ipsis non legitur.'

The shame of bearing the cross is rarely stressed in either Latin or English treatments of the Passion. These customarily dwell on the physical pain involved.[54]

[53] Cf. Augustine, *Sermo in Cena*, *Patrol. Lat.* xl, col. 1285.

[54] A less close analogue may be cited from Bernard: 'Sub crucis onere dorsum incurvare videtur, et suam ipsius portare ignominiam' (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 960). Cf. (pseudo)-Anselm, *Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Domini* (*Patrol. Lat.* clix, col. 281), which laments the suffering involved in bearing the cross.

vv. 2159–68. Jesus allowed the marks of his wounds to remain for three reasons: that the apostles should have no cause for doubting the resurrection; that he might show the marks to his Father in heaven; and that he might confront evil-doers with them at the Day of Judgement.

Cf. *M. V. C.*, cap. xciv: 'Reservavit quoque sibi Dominus cicatrices vulnerum, maxime propter tria, scilicet ut faceret Apostolis fidem de sua Resurrectione, et ut ipsos ostendat Patri, quando vult placare eum, et interpellare pro nobis; est enim noster advocatus; et etiam ut eas monstret reprobris in die judicii.'[55]

2. *Graphic detail.*

The realistic colouring of the narrative of the crucifixion appears to be indebted at several points to the *Meditationes*. In the case of material given such general handling as the story of the Passion, coincidence in details of description might easily be the result of chance. It is worth noting, however, that in the parallels which follow, not only the concrete detail but the narrative manner corresponds.

vv. 1423:

Sharpe and kene were þe þornes; hi wente to þe scolle.

M. V. C., cap. lxxvi: 'Perforabant namque caput ejus sacratissimum acerbissimae illae spinae.'

vv. 1581–2:

—and þo closede his eye
And his heued heng adoun, and myd þat word gan to deye.

Cf. *M. V. C.*, cap. lxxix: 'Et ex tunc languere coepit more morientum, modo claudendo oculos, modo aperiendo, et caput inclinare.'

A very significant correspondence in this group is exhibited in the depiction of the crucifixion. The process is thus described in the *Southern Passion* (vv. 1459–61):

Laddren hi hadde on eyþer half; our lord up hi bere
And henge him heyere þan eny þeof ich wene þat þo were.
Þorw eyþer hond hi smyte a nayl ꝛ þorw þe ffet þe þridde.

[55] Cf. for the first and third 'reasons', Augustine, *De Symbolo*, *Patrol. Lat.* xl, col. 647 (the first also in *Sermo*, lxxxviii, *Patrol. Lat.* xxxviii, col. 539–40). The second may have been originally suggested by the famous passage in Augustine's *Liber Meditationum*, 'Respice in faciem Christi', etc. (*Patrol. Lat.* xl, col. 905–6). The author of the *Legenda Aurea*, citing Bede, notes five reasons (*ed. cit.*, p. 324).

The description in the *M. V. C.* is virtually identical (cap. lxxviii):

Hic modum crucis diligenter attende. Ponuntur duae scalae, una retrorsum ad brachium dextrum, alia ad sinistrum brachium, super quas malefici ascendunt cum clavis, et martellis. Ponitur etiam alia scala ex parte anteriori, attingens usque ad locum ubi debebant pedes affigi. Conspice nunc . . . compellitur Dominus Iesus ascendere per hanc scalam parvam, etc.

This correspondence is noteworthy because the *Meditationes* is unique among Latin treatises on the Passion in thus describing the mode of crucifixion, and the description found therein is repeated in English works only by the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditations of the Soper of our Lord* attributed to Robert of Brunne[56]—the latter a paraphrase of part of the *Meditationes*. Gretser regards the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* as the ultimate authority for the notion of 'upright crucifixion'.[57] The other concept, which envisages the cross as laid flat on the ground while the victim is nailed to it, then raised and jolted into place, is put forward as an alternative possibility in the *Meditationes*, but not sanctioned[58] (cap. lxxviii):

Sunt tamen quidam qui credunt, quod non hoc modo fuerit crucifixus, sed cruce extenta in terra, eum elevaverunt, et crucem fixerunt in terram. Quod si hoc magis placet, conspice, etc.

This method of the 'prostrate crucifixion' is the one given, with numerous accessory details, in the *Dialogus de Passione* of (pseudo)-Anselm.[59] This concept became, through the medium

[56] The method of upright crucifixion is also suggested in the English metrical version of the *Arms of the Passion*, by the reference to 'ladders up set be enchesoun' (*E. E. T. S.* 46, pp. 186–7). Ladders, however, do not figure in the *Arma Passionis* printed by Drèves (*Analecta Hymnica*, xxxi. 98).

[57] *Opera* (Ratisbon, 1734), vol. i, lib. i, cap. xxi 'Modus crucifigendi, i num Christus humi an in sublimi sit suffixus cruci'. The opinion of Gretser is accepted by Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV au XVI Siècle* (Paris, 1903), pp. 92–3.

[58] This was noted by Roy (*op. cit.*, p. 93) in correcting the statement of Mâle (*L'Art Religieux du Moyen Âge*, p. 29), who had affirmed the convention of 'prostrate crucifixion' characteristic of the fifteenth century *mystères* to be due primarily to the influence of the *Meditationes*.

[59] *Patrol. Lat.* clix, col. 282.

of drama and otherwise, the picture of the crucifixion fixed in popular consciousness.

3. *Quality of feeling.*

The tone of the emotional passages in the *Southern Passion* echoes that of the lyric exclamations in the prose pieces. The note common to both is one of sombre feeling, almost reflective; both have often the character of an emotional comment on some quality inherent in the situation which called them forth. The following are typical instances chosen from the group of brief lyric interjections.

v. 1349:

O Ihesus muchel was þe schame þat þe giewes þe wrouȝte.

M. V. C., cap. lxxvii: 'O bone Iesu! quantam verecundiam faciunt vobis isti vestri amici.'

v. 1671:

Namore shame þan hi dude . ne miȝte þe gywes þe do.

M. V. C., cap. lxxix: 'Maledictus eorum furor, quia pertinax,[60] et quantum poterant, nocuerunt.'

Rhetorical questions are frequent in both, as:

v. 1524:

O Ihesus, to al þin oþer wo whuch drinke þe was y-brouȝt,

and—

M. V. C., cap. lxxv: 'O Domine, ad quorum manus venisti.'

Although these parallels might individually be duplicated from other Latin pieces, they have value as indicating that the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* do not differ in characteristic intensity of feeling. Both are keyed lower than the ecstatic fervour of the *Meditatio in Passionem et Resurrectionem* of Bernard or the *Sermo de Passione* of Anselm, but higher than the level of homiletic prose. The same emotional tone may be noted in the longer lyric passages next to be discussed.

[60] The first words of this sentence (through 'pertinax') are taken from Bernard, *Sermo de Vita et Passione Domini* (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 959).

4. *Themes and phrasing of emotional passages.*

In virtually every instance the emotional and reflective passages in the *Southern Passion* dwell on some detail of the Passion which has received special stress in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* or the *Lignum Vitae*. The homely simplicity of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, lacking all regal pomp 'cum esset Rex regum', the example of humility given by his washing the apostles' feet, the profoundly human Agony in Gethsemane, are in both the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes* presented with an appeal to the responsive sympathy of the hearer.

In the following passages also, although the material by which the theme is amplified has been attracted into it from various sources, the emphasis of the verses reproduces the emphasis in the prose meditations. These correspondences (which are on the whole stronger between the poem and the *Lignum Vitae* than between the poem and the *Meditationes*) are specially significant because non-Scriptural.

vv. 1524–40. The giving of the gall and vinegar represented the climax of physical agony. 'When all thy limbs had been injured except thy tongue, with which thy mother was commended to St. John, the Jews gave pain to that member also; they would allow no part of thy body to be free from suffering.' This was the consummation of the Passion:

> Þo þe gyewes brouȝt oure lord galle and vinegre also
> wel pytousliche oure lord sede, 'now hit is y-do'.

Lig. Vit. 'Joanne, qui praesens fuit, attestante, subintulit: Consummatum est, tamquam si in gustu aceti et fellis, totius amarissimae passionis consummata plenitudo consisteret.' [61]

M. V. C., cap. lxxix: 'Et cum illi maligni cogitare non possent, in quo ei plus nocerent: tamen vexandi novam materiam acceperunt. Unde dederunt ei bibere acetum mixtum cum felle.'

The phrasing of the metrical passage recalls neither of the above meditations, but rather a passage attributed to Bernard which is found in the *Legenda Aurea*. The *Southern Passion* follows the general plan of this passage in enumerating the

[61] *Ed. cit.*, p. 403, col. 1.

sufferings of one member after another. The following passages show especially close resemblance.

vv. 1531–2:

> Þe ne byleuede no lyme unpyned bote þi tonge alone
> Wiþ whan þou toke þi moder to him þat ne knew no wommannes mone.[62]

Leg. Aur. 'Et quid plura? non remansit in eo nisi lingua ut . . . matrem discipulo commendaret.'[63]

The emphasis of the passage cited from Bernard is, however, different from that of the metrical passage in that the former represents the tongue to be the only member *preserved* from injury; the gall and vinegar are mentioned in the catalogue of sufferings, but not as affecting the tongue. The poet evidently had in mind the general method of this passage, and in part its phrasing, in developing the theme suggested by the *Meditationes* or *Lignum Vitae*.

vv. 1645–70. This passage is a meditation on the spear-thrust. The general theme is: 'Thou hast shed every drop of blood, in order that our redemption might be complete.' This is developed as follows: 'A man has three kinds of blood; the first is between the "fflesch and ffel", the second in the veins, the third in the heart, the "more of lyue". The first kind was brought out by the flagellation, the second by the thorns and nails (for every vein in the body ends in the head, hands, or feet), and the third by the spear-thrust.'

The theme, the securing of complete redemption by successive sheddings of blood, occurs in the following passage in the *Lignum Vitae*, although here the series is slightly different.

> Cruentatus enim Christus Dominus sanguine proprio, primum sanguineo sudore, secundo flagellis, dehinc spinarum aculeis, post clavis, et tandem lancea, copiose effuso, ut apud Deum esset copiosa redemptio.[64]

[62] Only MSS. in Group π have this reading, which refers of course to the tradition of St. John's virginity. MSS. in Group τ read variously 'to seint Iohne' and 'in þe warde of seint Iohn'.

[63] *Ed. cit.*, p. 226.

[64] *Ed. cit.*, p. 404, col. 1 (ed. Peltier, xii. 78). Virtually the same list is quoted by Bernard (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiv, col. 779), but with a different bearing.

With this general notion the author of the *Southern Passion* has (as in the preceding instance) fused a concrete series of details found in the *Legenda Aurea*. A passage in the latter work describes the effort of the Jews to destroy the seat of life by injury to the three parts of the body to which medieval philosophy had assigned it—the whole surface of the body, the head, and the heart.

Hanc triplicem opinionem iudei saltem ipso facto videntur sciuisse. Nam ut eius animam a corpore auellerent, quaesierunt ipsam in capite cum spinas usquam ad cerebrum infixerunt; quaesierunt in sanguine cum eius venas in manibus et pedibus aperuerunt, quaesierunt in corde cum eius latus perforauerunt.[65]

[65] *Ed. cit.*, p. 227. The substitution of three kinds of blood for three locations of the seat of life may be a popular perversion of the schoolmen's science. A suggestive parallel is found in ballad literature. The familiar ballad of Hugh of Lincoln thus describes the death of the Christian boy stabbed by the Jewish woman (cf. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, iii. 242):

> Then out and cam the thick thick blude,
> Then out and cam the thin,
> Then out and cam the bonny heart's blude,
> Where a' the life lay in.

The analogue gains point from the fact that, according to the popular belief in regard to Jewish ritual murders, the tortures inflicted upon the victim reproduced the tortures suffered by Christ. The ballad in its written form is of course much later than the *Southern Passion*, but it may be assumed that the oral tradition would have arisen soon after the death of Hugh of Lincoln in 1255. In other versions the last line reads:

> There was nae mair within.

This parallels v. 1670 of the *Southern Passion*:

> And þou for vs ȝeue euerich drope, þat þer byleuede nouȝt.

The same notion occurs in a thirteenth-century English poem on the Passion (ed. Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* ix. 45):

> Blod and water out þer drof
> Moste no þing leue wiȝinne,

and is found frequently later. For the point that all the veins in the body end in the head, hands, and feet, the poet may have drawn upon his memory of some such treatise as Albertus Magnus's *Tractatus I De Anatomia Venarum et Sanguinis et de Origine Istorum Duorum, et de Origine Nervorum.* Albertus defends the opinion of Aristotle that the seat of life, from which the veins take rise, is the heart, and traces the course of the veins, as charted by various ancient anatomists, to the extremities. (*Opera*, ed. Borgnet, 1890–9, xii. 201, 223.)

5. *Hortatory tone.*

The relation of writer to audience is the same in the poem and in the two prose pieces. The didactic intention of the *Lignum Vitae* is less obtrusive than that of the *Meditationes*; but common to both of these and to the *Southern Passion* is a note of reproachful exhortation. It must of course be admitted that the influences which would have determined the tone of the poem were indefinable and encompassing. The spirit of religious instruction was in the air, and the extent to which a work of the period would be affected by current homiletic mannerisms cannot be measured. At the same time, the similarity in the direct appeal to the reader, in the works under consideration, is too marked to be neglected. The mood in which the two Latin works are conceived—that of urgent desire to move men to sympathetic meditation—is reflected in the poem in passages such as the following (vv. 1599–600):

Þi lord deyeþ in strong pyne, and in so strong deþe
ffor þe, and þou þat art his lyme sory art unneþe.

The *Lignum Vitae* offers an exact prototype, in such phrases as 'tu perdite homo' and 'tu homo redempte' for the apostrophes to 'man'[66] characteristic of the portion of the *Southern Passion* dealing with the Crucifixion. There are close correspondences also in appeals framed as rhetorical questions, as the following:

v. 1583:

O Ihesu, who may þis y-hure wiþoute wop of heorte.

Lig. Vit. 'O verax dulcis et pie Jesu, quaenam anima tibi devota haec videns et audiens possit se continere a lacrymis et intimae passionis occultare dolorem.'[67]

Not only the tone but the very phrasing of the *Lignum Vitae* are reproduced in the *Passion* in the passage relating to the phenomena in nature attending the crucifixion (vv. 1547–50, 1587–98):

Đe sonne was blak, hit was eclyps, aȝen his kunde ynow;
Ne myȝte þe sonne shyne no leng þo he to deþe drow.

[66] There are scattered instances of such apostrophe in the writings of Bernard, but none which exhibit verbal parallel with the poem.

[67] *Ed. cit.*, p. 401, col. 1 (ed. Peltier, xii. 75).

Lute wonder me þinkeþ hit was þey ȝeo ne miȝte shyne
Whanne þe Mayster of sonne ꝛ Mone þolede her such pyne.[68]
. . . . . .
Þe eorþe ne miȝte bere þi deþ; þat is þing wiþoute rede,
Þat ȝeo grisliche ne quakede, as who seiþ for drede.
Allas, man, wher is þin heorte? how miȝtow hure þis
Bote þou quake ffor sorwe? gret deol of þe hit is;
Ffor treos ne stones ne þolede nouȝt þat his heorte breke atwo.
Aboute þe stede in mony places þat hi ne to-borste al-so.
Cloþes þat in þe temple were to-cloue al-so a-mydde;
Dede mennes þrowes to-borste ek, as merci for to bydde.
O Ihesu, hard was þi deþ whanne harde treos ꝛ stones
To-borste þo þin heorte to-brak, and þrowes of Mannes bones.
Man, how miȝtou þis yhure, þat þin heorte ne brekeþ anon?
Allas, Man, whuch is þin heorte? hardour þan eny ston!

Lig. Vit. 'Denique cum agnus innocens, qui & verus justitiæ sol trium horarum spatio perpendisset in cruce, & eodem tempore sol iste visibilis factori suo compatiens lucis suæ radios occultasset, jam omnibus consummatis . . . expiravit . . . Considera & tu homo redempte, quis, qualis, & quantus est ille, qui pro te pendet in cruce: cujus mors vivificat mortuos, & cujus transitum & caelum luget, & terra, & lapides duri quasi naturali compassione sciunduntur (*sic*). O cor humanum omni lapidum duritia durius! si ad tanti commemorationem piaculi, nec terrore concuteris, nec compassione afficeris, nec compunctione scinderis, nec pietate molliris.'[69]

[68] The two lines following read:

Þe Mone wiþdrow hure liȝt al-so, and non on eorþe sende,
Ffor ȝeo nolde shyne on ham þat oure lord so ffoule shende.

The reading 'mone' in v. 1541 is characteristic of MSS. in Group π; in Group τ the line reads 'þe sonne wiþdrouȝ', &c. For an eclipse of the moon, interpreted as a reproach to the tormentors of Jesus, I find no patristic authority. Parallels, however, with other English texts may be noted. The *Passion of our Lord* in the Jesus Coll. Oxf. MS. has (v. 479): 'Þe sonne bileuede hire lyht and þe mone al so' (*E. E. T. S.* 49, p. 50); cf. also 'Þe sunne and moone losten þer light' in *The Deuelis Perlament*, v. 225 (*E. E. T. S.* 24, p. 48).

Applied to an eclipse of the sun, however, the interpretation of the eclipse which stands in v. 1452 may be referred to Jerome. Cf. Gretser (*ed. cit.*, i, lib. i, cap. xxxi): 'Videtur mihi, inquit sanctus Hieronymus, clarissimum lumen mundi . . . retraxisse radios suos, ne aut pendentem videret Dominum aut impii blasphemantes sua luce fruerentur.' This passage I have been unable to find in the works of Jerome, who states, however, in the *Commentarium in Amos*: 'Sol hora sexta retraxit radios suos et pendentem in cruce Dominum suum spectare non ausus est' (*Patrol. Lat.* xxv, col. 1082).

[69] *Ed. cit.*, p. 403, col. 2 (Peltier, xii. 77–8). A less exact parallel is

The appeal is echoed in the *Meditationes*: 'Si hic non compatieris, cor lapideum puta te habere' (cap. lxxvi).

The resemblances between the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and the *Southern Passion* when taken together [70] appear to establish the dependence of the English poem upon this treatise. The recognition of this dependence modifies in two respects current opinion in regard to the *Meditationes*.

In the first place, the date of this treatise is pushed back several decades earlier than the commonly accepted limit; in fact it is restored to a period close to that of St. Bonaventura himself. The authenticity of the treatise cannot, of course, be affirmed, without undertaking a critical investigation far beyond the limits of the present study, for it is to be noted that sceptical opinion as to St. Bonaventura's authorship has leaned heavily on evidence of language and style, but has neglected to study the wide variation which exists among the numerous manuscripts of the *Meditationes*.[71] Nevertheless, by restoring this treatise to the period of St. Bonaventura—who for centuries was universally regarded as its author [72]—a heavier burden of proof is laid upon those who question his title to the

furnished by a passage from Ambrose, *Expositio Evang. sec. Luc.*, lib. x, which apostrophizes the 'hard hearts' of the Jews: 'O duriora pectora Judaeorum! Finduntur petrae, sed horum corda obdurantur. Judex arguit, elementa fugiunt, terra concutitur, monumenta reserantur. Judaeorum tamen immobilis duritia manet orbe concusso' (*Patrol. Lat.* xv, col. 1836). The often-quoted passage from Bernard, 'O Iudei, lapides estis, sed lapidem percutitis molliorem' (*Patrol. Lat.* clxxxiii, col. 268), is perhaps derived from this. Cf. also (pseudo)-Anselm, *Patrol. Lat.* clix, col. 183. A somewhat similar passage occurs in the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos* (*Patrol. Lat.* xlii, col. 1127), but the phenomena attending the crucifixion here serve a different purpose; the terror experienced by the created universe ('omnis pene creatura expavescit mortem Christi') is contrasted with the blindness of the Jews.

[70] In addition to citations made under § E, cf. notes 12, 14, 25, 44 above.

[71] The editors of the Quaracchi edition noted that these MSS. 'valde inter se differunt, ita ut difficile sit, originale opus a transformatis et auctis discernere' (x. 25). A critical edition based on exhaustive collation of the MSS. is of course pre-requisite to any reasonable investigation of authorship.

[72] Miss Deanesly has pointed out that all the English MSS. of the *Meditationes* which she has examined—a considerable number—assign the work to St. Bonaventura (*op. cit.*, p. 13). This circumstance has perhaps more weight than Miss Deanesly attaches to it.

work. And in considering his claims one should note also the association of the authentic *Lignum Vitae* with the *Meditationes* as joint sources for the *Southern Passion*.

In the second place, the relation between the *Southern Passion* and the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* illuminates an aspect of the latter work which has been largely obscured in the eyes of modern students.

The elements of the work which are often regarded as of specially potent influence on later vernacular literature are the portion devoted to the sufferings of Mary,[73] which is thought to have widely affected the Marian laments, and the description of the 'prostrate crucifixion', which has been credited with supplying the accessory horrors in the usual narrative and dramatic treatments of the crucifixion. But these opinions pervert the original emphasis of the work. Whether by Bonaventura or not, the *Meditationes* is clearly of his school: and the teaching of Bonaventura in the matter of Mariolatry is quite explicit. The following is a characteristic utterance:

> Etsi Mater habenda sit in reverentia et magna erga ipsam habenda sit devotio, multo maior tamen est habenda erga Filium, ex quo est ei omnis honoret gloria.[74]

The description of the 'prostrate crucifixion' which displaced in popular tradition the concept of 'upright crucifixion' was, as has been noted, not sanctioned by the author of the *Meditationes*. In both these matters the *Southern Passion* is true to the inspiration of its original, as also in reflecting its disciplined mood and explicitly social aim. It preserves, in fact, the fundamental character of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*—that of a conscious interpreter of the ideal of sympathetic meditation and an instrument of the practical tendency of thirteenth-century mysticism.

[73] It is of course impossible to say how much of this material has been added in recensions of the original.

[74] Cited in the critical discussion of Bonaventura's writings under 'De indole et speciali charactere Bonaventuranae doctrinae', Quaracchi ed., x. 32.

CHAPTER V

THE *SOUTH ENGLISH LEGENDARY* AND THE FRIARS

THE *South English Legendary* is, for us, an anonymous work. The tradition which, in the early stages of modern interest in the collection, attributed it to Robert of Gloucester is now generally discredited.[1] At the same time, the influence of this tradition persists in the tendency on the part of scholars to regard the *Legendary* as a product of the Abbey of St. Peter's at Gloucester.[2] The dependence, which has long been recognized,

[1] Robert of Gloucester's authorship of the *Legendary* was first suggested in 1828 by Sir Frederick Madden (*Havelok*, ed. Roxburghe Club, p. iii), who based his 'conjecture' upon 'identity of style' in the *Legendary* and the *Chronicle*. W. H. Black in 1845 entered the *Legendary* under Robert's name in his Catalogue of Ashmole MSS. (No. 43; cf. also 1115, Art. 3), and in editing the 'Life of Thomas of Canterbury' from the *Legendary* reaffirms the theory on the ground that portions of this *Life* were used in the *Chronicle* (*Thomas Becket*, Percy Soc., xix, 1845, pp. vii–xiii). Skeat in 1868, in his edition of *Havelok* (*E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. IV, p. xxxv), reiterated Madden's opinion that Robert was the author of the *Legendary*. Later scholars, however, have regarded this theory with less favour. Horstmann, who considered the *Legendary* as the product of a group, assigned to Robert an undefined share in it (*Alteng. Leg.*, Neue Folge, p. xliv); W. Ellmer believed that he was the author of *Kentish only* (*Anglia*, x. 321–2). W. Aldis Wright denied in forcible terms that Robert of Gloucester had any share in the composition of the *Legendary* (*Chronicle*, ed. Rolls Series, Introd., p. xxxix). Of more recent critics, Professor Gerould thinks the evidence insufficient to determine 'whether the Chronicler and any legend writer are one' (*Saints' Legends*, p. 161). Wells states that the 'Southern collection of *Saints' Lives* sometimes ascribed to Robert of Gloucester are not his . . . although it is quite possible that he had some connection with some of the pieces' (*Manual*, pp. 197–8).

[2] Cf. Horstmann, Gerould, *loc. cit.*; Wright, Introd., p. xxxix; also Wells: 'the enterprise probably originated among the monks at Gloucester, or at least became defined and developed at Gloucester' (*Manual*, p. 293).

of Robert's[3] *Chronicle* on several of the *Vitae* in the *Legendary*,[4] does not, of course, necessarily imply that the two works were composed under the same conditions.[5] With this factor set aside, the association of the *Legendary* with the Abbey of Gloucester is to a certain extent warranted on the side of geographical provenience by the evidence of dialect, although this cannot, of course, describe limits about a precise locality, and, as has been noted, certain allusions in the *Legendary* appear to point to Somersetshire as its home.[6] The complementary part of the assumption—that the *Legendary* must of necessity have been composed in a monastic house—I propose to examine in the following pages.

At first glance, the theory which assigns the composition of the *Legendary* to a house of monks appears plausible enough. On the score of offering facilities for composition, the typical thirteenth-century monastery fulfils every practical requirement

[3] There is, of course, no conclusive proof that the author who placed himself on record in his *Chronicle* (v. 11749) as 'Robert þat verst þis boc made' was a monk of Gloucester Abbey. The tradition has, however, old roots. (For a discussion of its growth, cf. Wright, Introd. to the *Chronicle*, pp. v–vii.) Tanner (*Bibl. Britann.*) records only 'Robertus Glocestrensis poeta et historicus Anglus', but Thomas Hearne, editing the *Chronicle* in 1724, had so definite an image of Robert the monk that he speculated on his conjectural University career, lodging him in the old Benedictine 'College of Gloucester' at Oxford. Wright himself in a rare moment of indifference to logic says, 'From the dialect in which he [the author of the *Chronicle*] wrote, he was probably a Gloucestershire monk' (p. vii). The assumption that Robert, author of the *Chronicle*, was a monk is of course reasonable, since the compiling of chronicles had long been a characteristic monastic activity.

[4] The correspondences noted by early scholars, with some additions, are recorded by Ellmer, *op. cit.* Both Horstmann and Ellmer had regarded the relation between the *S. E. L.* and the *Chronicle* as one of mutual dependence, as they assumed a passage in *Kenelm* to have been borrowed from the *Chronicle*. Evidence, however, which makes it clear that Robert was the borrower in this as in other instances, I am printing elsewhere ('Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* and the *Life of St. Kenelm*' to appear in *Modern Language Notes* for Jan. 1926). Dependence on the part of Robert does not, of course, imply markedly close association between the two works.

[5] It emphasizes, of course, the general south-western provenience common to the *S. E. L.* and the *Chronicle* which has long been accepted on grounds of dialect.

[6] Cf. pp. 32–5 above.

—library, scriptorium, a group of educated persons with leisure at command. But the matter cannot rest with the abstract suitability of *milieu*, and in the content of the *Legendary* itself we find material obstacles in the way of the theory of monastic authorship. The difficulty that presents itself is briefly this: the *South English Legendary* appears to have been written for a purpose which is not historically consistent with any of the known activities of a thirteenth-century monastic house.

How, in the first place, are we to define the purpose of the *Legendary*? In general terms the work was, of course, intended to disseminate a knowledge of sacred narratives illustrating the teachings of the Church. But what audience and what conditions of presentation had its author in mind? That it was not, as Professor Gerould has suggested, 'intended to provide selections suitable for post-prandial reading in conventual refectories'[7] is clear from numerous passages, especially in the *Passion*, which exhort the listeners to live up to their duties as Christians, to be shriven, to go regularly to church, &c. Such lines as the following, for example, would have no application for those whose lives were ordered by monastic rule (*Passion*, vv. 127–30):

> Anon so ihesus com to Ierusalem and of þe asse was aliȝt,
> Þe ffurste dede þat he dude to þe temple he ȝeode riȝt,
> To ȝiue vs cristene men ensaumple to go to chirche al-so
> Whanne hi comeþ to eny toun þe ffurste þing þat hi do.

Mr. Gerould's alternative suggestion, that the work was intended for the spiritual profit of the private reader, the patron of letters[8] (in which case it might naturally be of monastic composition) presents other difficulties. An audience of actual listeners appears to be repeatedly recognized, not only in such phrases as 'ȝe mowe wel yseo' and 'as ȝe witeþ', but in such lines as these in the *Passion* (vv. 1597–8):

> Man, how miȝtou þis yhure, þat þin heorte ne brekeþ anon?
> Allas, man! whuch is þin heorte? hardour þan eny ston?

The poet regards his audience, moreover, as unlettered. He habitually renders into simple English the phrases which he

[7] *Saints' Legends*, p. 154.

[8] *loc. cit.*

takes over into the poem from his Latin source. We find for example:

Tenebres beoþ derkhede (*Passion*, v. 1543).

Again, he explains a technical term:

Arsmetrike is a lore þat of figurs al is
& of drauȝtes as me draweþ in pondre[9] & of numbre iwis
(*Edmund conf.* vv. 235–6);

and he elucidates a theological term which would hardly have offered difficulties to a person of even slight education. Certain false Christians

. . . ne bilefden nouȝt þat ore louerd were ibore of þe maide Marie;
Swuch manere fals bileue Men cleopeden heresie
(*Dominic*, vv. 35–6).

The contents of the *Legendary*, in fact, compel the conclusion that the work was intended for the oral instruction of 'lewed folk'. But, it may be suggested, just such an audience may have been in the minds of some monastic group who desired to provide sermons or *lectiones* in the vernacular for parochial churches under their care. Against this possibility must be placed, first, the testimony of history as to the characteristic attitude of thirteenth-century monasteries towards their parochial cures. These seem to have been treated in the main as sources of revenue by the monasteries, rather than as responsibilities. Accordingly, 'the spiritual needs of the parishioners [*sc.* in monastic appropriations] were neglected. The churches were served either by monks, who from their training and life could have but little sympathy with the parishioners, or by a poorly paid chaplain who was removable at the will of the patrons'.[10] Certainly we know of no instances in which monastic houses showed special zeal in promoting the spiritual welfare of parishes under their care, whereas there is frequent record of efforts on the part of high-minded prelates,

[9] Horstmann reads this as *poudre* (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 438).

[10] *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, ii. 7. The failure of the system of appropriated benefices is generally admitted by historians; cf. among others F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, London, 1899, pp. 138 ff., and Rev. Edward L. Cutts, D.D., *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England*, London, 1898, pp. 97–8.

such as Grosseteste, to stimulate them to fulfil their obligations.[11]

Moreover, even if we assume an exception to the prevailing indifference on the part of monasteries to their parishes, we meet a further obstacle in the unsuitability of the pieces in the *Legendary* for use in the appointed services of the church. As Professor Gerould points out, some of the pieces are too long, others too short, to serve in their present form as homilies or *lectiones*.[12] We may note, moreover, such passages as the following from *John the Baptist* (vv. 43–4):

> And sethþe he liet smite of his heued, as ȝe i-hereth ofte telle,
> Also man redeȝ in is daye in heruest, biforen eov in þe godspelle.

Obviously the poem in which these lines occur could not have been intended as a substitute for the gospel for St. John's Day. And, although these and many other passages have the character of a *sermo ad parochianos*, we cannot suppose that the pieces were designed directly for pulpit use, inasmuch as the moral frequently applies to the priest rather than to the congregation. The following comment in the *Passion* on the words of Jesus to Peter, 'Feed my lambs', have point only for those who have the care of souls (vv. 2241–50):

> ffor whoso is heued of holy chirche, as preost and persoun is,
> Þreo þinges he mot haue, to wissi þe soules i-wis:
> Word, dede and ensaumple; and bote he habbe alle þeos þreo
> He ne may wardeyn of holy chirche in no manere beo.
> . . . . . .
> ffor ȝif þer ffayleþ eny of þeos, and man mysdo þerffore,
> He shal answerie at domesday of eche soule fforlore.

Passages equally applicable to 'persouns and preostes', in some cases conveying sharp censure, may be cited from the *Legends*.[13] It is plain that the writer intended both priest and flock to profit by his work.

These passages count with equal force against the possibility that the *Legendary* was composed by secular clerks. We can, indeed, conceive such a prelate as Bishop Grosseteste as encouraging the composition of pious narratives in the ver-

[11] Cf. Cutts, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Stevenson, *loc. cit.*

[12] *Saints' Legends*, p. 155.

[13] Cf. pp. 100–2, below.

nacular, and we should expect a group of secular canons—as for example those serving Wells Cathedral—to command the necessary resources and leisure. But we can hardly suppose that the secular clergy would put forth a work which contained expressions reflecting on their order, and which could not be employed by a priest without considerable editing.

How, then, are we to account for these pieces which are at once appropriate as sermons to the people and inappropriate in the service? An explanation which reconciles these apparently inconsistent characters is offered by the preaching of the friars.[14] Orthodox in theology, free-lance in method, zealous for the spiritual improvement of clergy as well as laymen, these thirteenth-century missionaries present perhaps the most reasonable solution for the puzzle of the purpose and authorship of the *South English Legendary*. Although the pieces could not, without radical adaptation, serve the parish priest, the preaching friar would find in them sermons 'made to his hand'. Although obviously not commensurate with the opportunies offered by the Liturgy, they yet lent themselves readily to the more flexible conditions of friar preaching. The friars, of course, controlled their own homiletic limits. Frequently they preached out-of-doors, in tavern porches or open fields,[15] when, as often happened, the parish priest refused them the use of his church.[16] Where they were in possession of their own churches, they took liberties with the service, shortening the mass and extending the time for the sermon.[17] And it must not be

[14] The most comprehensive discussion of the Friars Minor in England in the thirteenth century is that of A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Manchester, 1917. For the Dominicans, cf. Rev. C. F. Palmer, *Life of Cardinal Howard*, London, 1867, Introd., pp. 39–67.

[15] Cf. Little, *Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 132.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 113–14; Dr. Little cites here the Bull *Super cathedram* of 1300, which allowed the friars full liberty to preach 'to clergy and people in their own churches and in public places' (except at stated times), but they might preach in the parish church only by invitation of the priest. Cf. also Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, p. 85.

[17] 'The Friars, laying such stress on the sermon, seem to have allowed themselves considerable latitude in shortening the office, and the seculars complained at the Council of Lyons in 1274 that people preferred the short masses of the friars and neglected the ordinary services' (Little, *Studies in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 133, citing Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte*, vi. 113).

forgotten that, although we have no contemporary testimony on this point, one of the complaints brought by Wyclif against the friars of his day was their habit of preaching in rime.[18]

But we have to consider a more fundamental matter than the symmetry with which the *South English Legendary* fits into the framework of friar sermons. It is of special significance that we find the *Legendary* consistently exhibiting an attitude toward the church and the social order which is in essentials that historically attributed to the friars, and which, in many cases, is reflected in works of authentic friar authorship.

The friars occupied a unique position, within the church, but outside the hierarchy. Thus, while labouring with zeal and devotion to uphold the church, they had peculiar opportunity for criticizing the shortcomings of its clergy. And although it was the policy of their superiors to discourage such criticism, the preaching brothers appear to have allowed themselves some liberty in publicly calling attention to the deficiencies of the seculars. That this practice reached a point where restraint was called for, we know from a letter of St. Bonaventura, written when he was general of the Franciscan Order to one of his provincial ministers:

> Inhibeas etiam fratribus firmiter & distincte quia tam divino quam canonico prohibetur imperio, ne praelatorum vitam coram populo carpant sed potius reverentiam exhibeant.[19]

[18] 'For þei docken Goddis word and tateren it bi þer rimes' (*Select Eng. Works of J. Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, iii. 180).

[19] *Opera*, ed. Rome, 1588, vii. 467, col. 2. Cf. also Little: 'That the friars diminished the respect paid to the parish priest is admitted by the friars and justified by Bonaventura' (*op. cit.*, p. 119). There are many records of clashes between parish priests and friars, especially after 1250. Typical of the situation between priests and friars is a document in the *Annals* of Burton Monastery, a letter of Hybert, Prior of the Dominicans, under date 1258, on certain complaints made against them of usurping the functions of the parochial clergy; viz. that they draw parishioners away from their proper churches to hear mass and sermons in the friars' houses; by drawing up wills for wealthy patrons, they defraud the seculars of bequests; they defraud these further by allowing sepulture within the grounds of Friars' churches; they hear confessions, without being authorized to do so. The regulations laid down by the Prior for their future conduct in these matters reflect a general principle of attempting to prevent friction between priests and friars, and of keeping

In the *South English Legendary* we find no comment on 'prelates', but scathing comments on certain types of priests, as well as an effort to reconcile these denunciations with an attitude of judicial tolerance toward the order of secular clergy as a whole. The author chides the avaricious priest (*Passion*, vv. 175–8):—

Her we seoþ þat oure lord is apayd vnylyche
Of a lutel offryng of a pouere man þan of a gret of a riche;
Ak y ne segge nouȝt þat þe persone is so þat in his stede auȝte beo,
ffoȝ whanne his offryng is gret him þinkeþ he may ffleo.

In *All Souls Day*, the priest who gives easy penances is severely scored (vv. 45–52):—

ȝwat, hou is hit þanne of lanekin, and of robinet þe wilde,
Of annot, and of malekin,[20] þat wollez habbe þene preost so milde,
And huy seggez 'þilke preost is to hard; god schilde us frame is lotheþ!
go we to sire Gilbert þe preost, he nis neure wrotheþ;
he wollez schriue us nessche i-nouȝ and ore sunnes al foȝ-ȝyue.'
bi god, ȝwane huy habbez al i-do hom huy gotheþ vn-schriue;
for heore penaunce schal beo so luyte þat sire Gilbert and huy also schullen gon a deuelewey bote god nime ȝeme heom to.[21]

Later in the same poem, the author, presenting the traditional opinion that the efficacy of the mass is not weakened even though it be administered by a sinful priest, takes occasion to warn the priest of the consequences to himself (vv. 339–46):—

the friars obedient to episcopal authority (*Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series, i. 434–5).

[20] The same popular tone of address, even to the typical rustic names given the offenders, is employed in the well-known *Lutel Soth Sermun*:

> Þeos prude yongemen þat luuyeþ Malekin
> And þeos prude maydenes þat luuyeþ ianekyn (vv. 53–6);

and again:

> Robyn wule Gilothe leden to þan ale (vv. 73–4).

This is edited by Morris in *An Old English Miscellany*, *E. E. T. S.* 49, pp. 186–92, from two MSS. It is worth noting that one of these, Jesus Coll. Oxf. 29, contains also the narrative *Passion of Our Lord*, which, though not a source of the *Southern Passion*, is an important prototype. The Jesus College MS. is itself open to the suspicion of being a friars' manuscript.

[21] *E. E. T. S.* 87, pp. 421–2.

Ake þei þe Masse ne beo þe worse, þe preost, bi mi swere,
Þat hire singuth in dedlich sunne, a-corie it schal ful deore!
For ȝwane sire Gileberd i-massed hath, his lif he wole so diȝhte
At þe tauerne to beon a-day and bi is quene bi nyȝhte;
he seith, ȝwane men cleopiez him preost 'sittez stille, mine guode i-fere,
Þe preost hanguez at churche, and ich am nouþe here.'
his cope oþer his surplis þe preost he seith it isse,
Ake his cope schal bileue at hom ȝwane he schal to helle, i-wisse.[22]

A mild form of broadside is indeed delivered at one point (*Passion*, vv. 341–2):—

As a bisschop clupeþ to godes bord many, as ȝe seoþ,
And makeþ ham persouns and preostes, ak ffew þerto worþi beoþ.

But the effect of even this attack is weakened by a later passage of considerable length in which the author stresses the necessity of regarding each instance of wrongdoing on the part of priests as an individual case (*Passion*, vv. 1965–72, 1979–82):—

Ak ȝif a clerk oþer a preost haþ in his ffolye
A symple þufþe y-don, oþer a ffoul lecherye,
Þanne comeþ fforþ ech rybaud in his rybaudye,
And seiþ, 'Lo! þis clerkes! what lif hi wolle drye!
Lo! þulke stal an oxe, and dude such ffolye,
And þulke by þat mannes wyf lay in holerye.
Þeos acorsede clerkes suche hi beoþ echon.
Hi were worþi beo to-drawe, þat þer nere alyue nouȝt on.'

. . . . . .

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 430. Much in the same vein is a passage in the *Fasciculus Morum*, a collection of materials for the use of preachers compiled by a friar in the early fourteenth century. Of this Dr. Little remarks that while 'singularly free from stories derogatory of ecclesiastical persons, it contains some criticism, as of the drunken priest who oversleeps himself and gabbles through the service, and is warned that he will be punished not in purgatory but in hell' (*Stud. in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 153). The criticism follows (as in the instance cited from *All Souls*) a statement of the efficacy of the Mass even when administered by a sinful priest. Another and a closer analogue is offered by an *exemplum* in the Dominican compilation in the MS. Royal 7 D 1 (No. 297); here a priest who has celebrated mass while defiled with sin is carried off by devils (cf. *Cat. Rom.* iii. 501). This is one of a series of *exempla* dealing with priests who have concubines (Nos. 284–302); cf. *All Souls*, v. 342.

Whi ne mot on bere his gult, and anoþer his?
Bote ȝif on mysdoþ hi beoþ y-blamed alle. y-wis
ffor þe loue of Ihesu crist, ȝe þat conne resoun
Ne blame noþing þe gulteles bote ȝe seo enchesoun.

The above lines, indeed, reprove libellers rather than sinners; the writer shows himself, like the godly Bishop Peacock of a later day, a 'repressor of overmuch blaming of the clergy'. But more significantly for the present discussion, he echoes here utterances of Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas originally made in defence of the 'religious'. Bonaventura accused the enemies of the religious orders of generalizing from insufficient instances:

Ex hoc arguitur stoliditas saecularium quorundam, qui dum vident aliquem religiosum in aliquo offendere, omnes religiosos despiciunt, quasi omnes tales sint.[23]

The same theme is developed by Thomas Aquinas in a passage of considerable length in his treatise *Contra Impugnantes Religionem*. Of those persons who have called members of religious orders 'penetratores domorum', he says:—

Extendunt quoad personas, vt videlicet quod ab uno vel duobus geritur, toti religioni imponere praesumant, sicut cum dicunt, quod non sunt cibis sibi appositis contenti lautiora quaerentes, multa huiusmodi quae etiam si ab aliquibus aliquando fiant, nullatenus sunt totali collegio imponenda. . . . Non ergo propter hoc infamandum est religiosorum collegium si aliqui ex eorum numero gravia etiam peccata committunt . . . Tertio, extendunt religiosorum mala secundum quantitatem, videlicet eorum peccata leuia vltra modum aggrauando.[24]

With the tenor of this passage the lines in the *Passion* are seen to correspond, not only in the correction of the critics' faulty logic, but in minimizing the gravity of the offence condemned; the difference lies in the application of the passage to secular instead of regular clergy. The correspondence has

[23] Cf. *Determinationes inter Quaestiones Reguli Fratrum Minorum*, *Opera*, Rome, 1588, vii. 360, col. 1; (cited by Neander, *Church History* (Clark's translation, 1851), vii, pp. 387–8).

[24] *Contra Impugnantes Religionem*, *Opuscula*, Venice, 1857, p. 271, col. 1. (Also cited by Neander, *loc. cit.*)

special force when we remember that Thomas Aquinas, the most powerful theological influence of his period, was himself a Dominican.

Allusions to the monastic orders are in all cases respectful. Many of the heroes of the *Legends* are of course monks,[25] and there is frequent reference to 'fair' or 'wel good' abbeys.[26] The absence of criticism is not, however, to be necessarily taken as an indication of monastic authorship, inasmuch as it was apparently not in accordance with the early policy of the friars to profess disesteem for the cloistered life. An interesting reflection of their attitude in this matter may be noted in the Durham *Liber Exemplorum*, a contemporary collection of sermon-materials compiled by a Franciscan.[27] This work included stories reflecting on the morals of monks, 'but preachers are warned, if they are preaching to the people to alter stories reflecting on the monks so as to make them of general application; otherwise the religious will be brought into contempt'.[28] Most significant, however, as pointing in the direction of friar authorship for the *South English Legendary*, is the attitude exhibited in it toward the Mendicant Orders themselves. Even viewed superficially, the inclusion of lives of Francis and Dominic in the collection would seem to rule out the possibility of monastic authorship, inasmuch as the characteristic feeling of monasticism toward the friars appears to have been mainly jealousy and contempt.[29] But certain expressions of the author offer more specific evidence of sympathy with the friars. In the following lines in the *Passion*, which occur in the explanation of the parable likening the Kingdom of Heaven to a net full of

[25] e.g. Dunstan, Augustine, Wolfstan, Brendan, Cuthbert. There is no life of St. Benedict in the Laud 108 *Legendary*, although this occurs in many later MSS. of the collection, including Harley 2277. St. Benedict is mentioned in the legend of Scholastica quite impersonally as having founded the order of black monks and nuns (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 197).

[26] Cf. the 'fair abbey' of Glastonbury (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 20), 'wel noble' Battle Abbey (*Ibid.*, p. 73). The administration of the Priory of Worcester under Wolfstan receives praise (*Ibid.*, p. 71).

[27] *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicantium*, ed. Little, Brit. Soc. for Franciscan Studies, vol. i (1908).

[28] Cf. Little, *Studies in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 154.

[29] Cf. *Victoria Co. Hist. of Somersetshire*, ii. 13.

fishes, it is difficult to avoid seeing a commendatory reference to the friar preachers (vv. 367–70):—

Þe ffischeres beoþ þe prechours, þat goþ aboute wiþ here gynne,
And precheþ her in þis wordle, goede soules to wynne.

Wholly unequivocal, however, are the expressions of admiration for the *ordo praedicatorum* which occur in the legend of *St. Dominic* (100–1):—

So þat þe ordre of frere prechours seint domenic bi-gan þo,
Þat hath i-saued wel mani a man, and ȝeot it schal wel mo.

The controversial heat of the author's reply to slanderers of the friars, in the following lines, is clearly partisan (vv. 164–9, 174–7):—

Manie of þis deoueles limes bitwene heom seggez al dayȝ,
'Wel murie was þe world and guod are man ani frere i-sayȝ.'
Also huy spekez, heom bi-fallez; for ore louerd seide, iwis,
'Bi ȝe fruyt man may i-seo ȝwat-manere treo it is;
For þare ne may of no luyþer treo no guod fruyt springue';
Vnneþe may a luyþur man ani guod word out of him-sulue bringue.
. . . . . .
Ake hit ne worth neuere fals þat ore louerd himself sede,
Þat his desciples scholden i-blessede beo, ȝwanne men hem spekez to quede,
And seggez heom scorn and bysemare for ore louerdes name.
Bi þe freres þus it is of men þat seggez heom schame.

A writer who refers to adversaries of the friars as 'limbs of the devil' would appear to have more than a casual connexion with the friars themselves. Certainly he was not a monk.

Where the social sympathies of the author are reflected in the *Legendary*, their affinity is with the friars rather than the monks. The friars were from the first the champions of the lowly, as the monks were the aristocrats.[30] We may refer again to the sermon materials compiled by the friars, of which Dr. Little says:

[30] Cf. Article 20 of the Assize of Clarendon, 'Prohibet dominus rex ne monachi . . . recipiant aliquem de minuto populo in monachum', etc. (Cited by Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, p. 7.) It appears to be generally agreed that the monks had little to do with the townsmen, and little sympathy with them (cf. Little, *Studies in Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 98).

Another point in which the collections resemble one another is their sympathy with the poor and condemnation of their oppressors. If unjust bailiffs continued to flourish, it was not the fault of the preachers.[31]

Of such sympathy (which is quite different from perfunctory praise of almsgiving) we find repeated instances scattered through the *Legendary*. The incident of St. Edmund's restoration of a heriot-beast to a poor widow is feelingly presented, together with the good archbishop's strictures on the law which inflicted such hardship on the poor (v. 490):—

'Me þinchez it a luþur lawe, and noþur riȝhtful ne guod.'

The writer dwells also on the despairing grief of 'lowe men and simple' at the death of King Edward the Martyr, who had been not only 'Debonere with pouere men mest', but their protector (vv. 97–100):—

'Alas,' huy seiden, 'ȝwat schulle we nouþe? ho schal for us beo?
ho schal us nouþe fram weorre wite? ȝwodere schulle we nouþe fleo?
ho schal nou pais in londe holde? ore ioye is al i-do!
Of weorre and wo we mouwen beo sikere,—al wrechhede comethþ us to.'

The vanity which is characteristic of the rich, even in death, is glanced at in *St. Francis*. This holy man was buried the day after he died—

he ne ferde nouȝt ase þis riche,
Þat for bobaunt of þe world liggethþ longue a-liche (vv. 452–3).

The nobility are referred to impersonally, 'þis heye men þat beoþ' (*Passion*, 476).

A final suggestion of confirmatory evidence is the clearly defined attitude toward woman which is taken by the author of the *Southern Passion*. No trace of the misogyny, real or assumed, which was characteristic of the monastic code, and which found expression in many monastic diatribes,[32] is to be found in the poem, which on the other hand includes a passage of considerable length in defence of the goodness and fealty of women. Those scandal-mongers who make a single instance of woman's folly

[31] Little, *loc. cit.*

[32] As an example note the 'Proprietates mulieris' which is of frequent occurrence in monastic MSS., e. g. MS. Bodley 57, fol. 206.

a pretext for defaming the sex are (like the slanderers of the clergy) vigorously denounced (vv. 1973–8, 1983–6):—

Also hit ffareþ by wymmen among luþere tounges ywis,
Whanne hi hureþ—þey hit selde beo—þat on doþ amys,
Þorw bysekne of a ffol womman,[33] (ffor elles þer wolde ffewe).
Þanne in his rybaudye wole segge many a shrewe,
'Suxtou þulke womman þat nom þulke man at eue,
Þat make hure so goed and queynte? Who scholde eny leoue?'
. . . . . .
And whanne ȝe habbeþ al y-sed, god ȝiue ham alle schame
Þat wiþoute enchesoun eny goed womman blame;
ffor more myldhede and goednesse in non eorþlich best nys,
Ne more milce and truwenesse, þan in a goed womman is.

The perspective of the author of the *Legendary* is not, indeed, taken from the angle of the cloister. His allusions, in passages which appear to be original, reflect acquaintance with common life. He has noted the ways of 'port-doggues', which are indifferent to strangers because used to the 'prece of men' in a port-town;[34] he has looked—though not with favour—on hilarious fellows in their cups at the ale-house;[35] he has walked in wintry English lanes where the hoar-frost—

Cleouez on hegges al abovte, and in þe wodes al-so,
On treo, on stones, on bestes also, þare it may cleouien to,—
Ichot wel on mi foretop it hauez wel ofte i-do.[36]

If, then, we may with some probability assign the *South-English Legendary* to the friars on the score of its point of view and apparent purpose, we must inquire whether it is consistent with historic fact that such a work should have proceeded from the Mendicant Orders. And we find that the testimony of history, far from controverting the possibility, tends in general to encourage it. Toward the close of the thirteenth century,

[33] *Al.* 'man'.

[34] *Michael*, vv. 267–70 (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 307).

[35] *Passion*, vv. 1959–62.

[36] *Michael*, vv. 623–5 (*E. E. T. S.* 87, p. 317). The long excursus into physical science in this poem in itself suggests affinity with the friars, inasmuch as they are regarded as largely responsible for the spread of interest in natural science which characterized the thirteenth century. Cf. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 148.

the activity of the Mendicant Orders[37] had passed far beyond the initial stage of scattered individual ministrations and apostolic poverty, and become—however contrary to the ideals of their founders—an organized and influential social agency. The degeneration which followed upon the failure of mendicancy in the fourteenth century, and which laid them open to the satire of Chaucer and Wyclif, had apparently not set in. They were, by the last quarter of the thirteenth century, firmly established in all parts of England; in the south-west, the region with which this discussion has special concern, we find prosperous houses of both Franciscans and Dominicans at Gloucester[38] and Bristol,[39] and with less important houses of Black Friars at Ilchester,[40] and of Grey Friars at Bridgwater.[41] In the absence of surviving records of these houses, no positive statement can be made as to the resources offered by their libraries for the compiling of a work on the scale of the *South English Legendary*. At the same time we know that it was not unusual for convents of friars to be well supplied with books. Anthony à Wood, after commenting on the library of the Grey Friars at Oxford, which had in addition to the books inherited from Robert Grosseteste considerable resources of their own, says:

> For as the Fryers of this place especially, so the generality of the rest in England did more or lesse collect all the monuments of learning (chiefly of Divinity and Law) that they for love or money could get.[42]

[37] I have limited this discussion to the Dominicans and Franciscans only, inasmuch as the other orders were of later development in England.

[38] *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire*, ii. 111.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10. On the Dominican house, cf. also Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, 'The Friar Preachers of Bristol', in *Anglia Dominicana* (a collection of short papers from various journals bound together, without date, in the British Museum), pp. 129–41; for the Franciscan, cf. G. E. Weare, *The Bristol Friars Minors*, Bristol, 1893.

[40] *Victoria County Hist. of Somersetshire*, ii. 150–1.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 151–2.

[42] *Survey of the Antiquities of Oxford* (1661–6), ed. Andrew Clark, Oxford Hist. Soc., xvii, vol. ii, p. 379. The Grey Friars had two libraries, one for the convent, and one for the school. Wood notes also that the library of the Black Friars at Oxford was 'larg and full of books' (*ibid.*, p. 321). The catalogue of the library of the Grey Friars at Hereford has

That there were erudite and prolific writers among the English friars—apart from the great names in both orders known to every one—is apparent after even a casual survey of Bale's *Index* or Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*.[43] And although there is scant record here or elsewhere of vernacular productions of the Friars,[44] authentic works in Latin abound. Among these, a group of special interest in its relation to popular sermons consists of the collections of material, largely exempla, compiled for the use of preachers.[45] Two of the most popular of these, the *Fasciculus Morum* and the *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicantium*, have already been noted. We may add to these the *Speculum Laicorum*, compiled between 1279 and 1292 by a friar in the south-east of England,[46] a collection of exempla in MS. Royal 7 D. 1, compiled by a Dominican in the late thirteenth century,[47] and the somewhat later *Contes*

been in part reconstructed by Dr. James from the pressmarks (late fourteenth century) in scattered volumes. (Cf. *British Society for Franciscan Studies*, v. 114-24. Dr. James finds reason to believe that this library contained a minimum of 170 vols., possibly 300 (pp. 121-2). An inventory of the much smaller library of the Black Friars of London made by the provincial Richard de Winkele in 1339 is printed in Bale's *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole, and M. Bateson's *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Med. and Mod. Ser., vol. ix, p. 13).

[43] The great treasury of information in regard to Franciscan writers in general is of course Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*; and for the Dominicans, Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*.

[44] We may note, however, an instance of metrical composition in the well known 'Luve Ron' known to be the work of a friar, Thomas of Hales. Much of the English material in MS. Harl. 913 has a manifestly Franciscan background.

[45] Cf. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, pp. 136 ff. Dr. Little notes also that a large number of handbooks on confession and penance were issued in the thirteenth century, and the authors of these so far as they can be identified are mostly Mendicant Friars (p. 120). The Dominicans produced a number of exegetical works designed to aid in the composition of sermons, and three members of this order compiled a Biblical concordance about 1250-75 (Ernest Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, Oxford, 1913, p. 30).

[46] Cf. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[47] Cited by Little, *ibid.*, p. 155; contents given in *Catalogue of Romances*, iii. 477-503, and in *Catalogue of Royal MSS.* Two later Dominican compilations of the same type are the *Summa Praedicantium* of John de Bromyard (fourteenth century, cf. *Cat. Rom.*, iii. 450-2), and the *Promptorium Exemplorum* of John Herolt (fifteenth century, cf. *Cat. Rom.*, iii. 452-3).

Moralisés of Nicole de Bozon.[48] With this group the *Legendary* has obvious affiliations, if not in subject-matter, certainly in objective and point of view.

If we admit as probable the hypothesis that the *South English Legendary* was the work of a friar, we have to consider the further question whether we may more reasonably connect him with the Franciscan or the Dominican order. In common with the Latin collections of sermon materials, the *Legendary* yields no explicit reference to specific ideals or traditions of one order rather than the other,[49] and indeed it is difficult to lay hold of clear historic differentia by which to define, for the period with which we are concerned, their respective characters.[50] The

[48] Discussed by Little, *Eng. Franc. Hist.*, &c., p. 139; ed. L. Toulmin-Smith, *Soc. des Anciens Textes français*, 1889.

[49] Cf. Dr. Little: 'One cannot fail to be struck by the absence [in these collections] of all allusions to Franciscan ideals, legends, and literature. A similar peculiarity may be observed in the *Summa* of the Dominican Guillaume Péraud, and it may be due to the fact that these works of the Mendicant Friars were intended for the use of all kinds of preachers' (*Brit. Soc. Franc. Stud.*, i. xiii).

[50] The distinction popularly drawn between the Franciscans as pre-eminently workers, and the Dominicans as preachers, although true in the early period of their activities, appears to have gradually become blurred, as the Franciscans did not long obey the injunction of the founder of their order against the owning of even a single book. In the period with which we are concerned, the distinction no longer appears to be valid. We read frequently of preaching by the Franciscans; to the 'popular preaching' of this Order Dr. Little devotes an entire chapter of the *Studies in English Franciscan History*. He notes herein that the importance of preaching had long been exalted by Franciscans and Dominicans alike, quoting in this regard the dictum of the Franciscan St. Bernard of Siena: 'If of these two things you can only do one—either hear the mass or hear the sermon—you should let the mass go rather than the sermon', and the comment of the Dominican Humbertus de Romanis in his *De Eruditione Praedicatorum*: 'Christ only once heard mass; there is no evidence of his having confessed, but he laid great stress on prayer and preaching, especially preaching' (*Eng. Franc. Hist.*, p. 133). Stevenson draws an interesting contrast between the Dominicans and Franciscans: 'the former relied on the eloquence of the spoken word for the furtherance of their efforts, the latter—on the eloquence of practical example. The Black Friars appealed to fear, the Gray Friars to love' (*Robert Grosseteste*, p. 60). He has in mind, however, the friars of the first half of the thirteenth century. Again, the distinction asserted by Dr. W. W. Shirley, in the introduction to the Wyclifite *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, appears

simple, practical tone of the *Legendary*, as well as its obviously popular intention, might seem (it is true) to suggest the Franciscan rather than the Dominican tradition. So, too, would the dependence of the *Passion* on the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* —a work manifestly of Franciscan origin. But these suggestions are controverted by the results of a comparison of the legends of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which makes it clear that in the eyes of the author St. Dominic was far the more important figure.[51] Although St. Francis is treated with respectful sympathy and admiration, St. Dominic is exalted to almost superhuman heights. He appears as the champion raised up by Our Lady, to save the world from the wrath of God; Francis is his worthy 'felawe' whom he seeks out (inspired by a vision) to labour with him.[52] The characterization of Francis, 'þat guod man was inouȝ', pales beside that of Dominic, in whose forehead at birth was a star (v. 16)—

> Þat þoru-out al cristine-dom schon and ȝaf gret liȝt.

And the symbolism of the star is significant (vv. 17–20):—

> ȝwat was þe schiningue of þis child bote þat he scholde bringue
> to godes lawe Mani a man, þoruȝ is guode prechinge,
> And þat he scholde an ordre make of frere prechours, þat ȝet is
> Þat þare-þoruȝ al cristine-dom amendi scholde, iwis.

Finally, it is not to be forgotten that the great contemporary collection, compiled independently in Italy—the *Legenda Aurea*—to which the English collection corresponds in general plan and outline of content, was the work of a Dominican, Jacobus de Voragine.

to relate to the thirteenth-century friars in their University activities: 'The Franciscans were the brilliant advocates of theological paradox, but sober learning took refuge with the disciples of St. Dominic' (ed. Rolls Series, p. xlix).

[51] The citations which follow are from the text of Laud 108 as printed in *E. E. T. S.* 87. The *Life of Dominic* is of frequent, though not invariable, occurrence in MSS. of the *Legendary*.

[52] The account given in the poem of the founding of the two orders has little relation to historic fact.

VITA

I, Beatrice Daw Brown, daughter of William Ernest and the late Emily Parker Daw, was born in Crosswicks, New Jersey, August 5, 1887. I received my early education in the public schools of Pennsylvania. In 1905 I entered Vassar College, from which I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1909.

During the year 1909–10 I held the Bennett Memorial Graduate Scholarship in English at the University of Pennsylvania, and received the degree of Master of Arts from that institution in June, 1910. My graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania was carried on under the direction of Professors Schelling, Child, and Easton of the Department of English, Professor Cheyney of the Department of History, and Professor Patton of the Department of Economics.

In 1910–11 I taught in a Public High School in New Jersey. From 1911 to 1914 I held the post of Reader in English at Bryn Mawr College.

From 1914 to 1916 I pursued graduate study at Bryn Mawr College. In 1914–15 I held the Department Fellowship in English; in 1915–16 I held the Babbott Fellowship from Vassar College, and a Graduate Scholarship in English from Bryn Mawr College. In the spring of 1916 I was awarded the Mary E. Garrett European Fellowship by Bryn Mawr College. The use of this Fellowship was deferred until after the close of the war. My graduate work at Bryn Mawr was in the fields of English Philology, my major subject, and English Literature and Old French, my minor subjects. It was carried on under the direction of Professors Carleton Brown and Hatcher of the Department of English, and Professors Holbrook and Beck of the Department of Romance Languages.

An article '*Love Fayned and Unfayned* and the English Anabaptists', which I prepared as a report for the Seminary in Middle English in 1916, appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* for June, 1917; and a briefer paper, 'Two Notes on *The Trial of Treasure*', in *Modern Philology* for May of the same year.

In August, 1918, I was married to Professor Carleton Brown. In 1920 I employed in study at Oxford the European Fellowship awarded me in 1916 by Bryn Mawr College, and in the summer of 1925 have further engaged in research at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

The accompanying dissertation was submitted in 1917 to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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